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Journal of the
North Carolina Friends
Historical Society



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The Southern Friend: Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

The *Southern Friend* is published semiannually in spring and autumn by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, Box 8502, Greensboro, N. C. 27410. Members of the Society, for which the annual dues are \$10.00, receive the journal and all other Society publications without charge. Single issues may be purchased for \$3.00 per number.

Editorial Policy

The publication committee is interested in receiving articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in North Carolina and the adjacent geographical area. Articles must be well written and thoroughly documented. Papers on family history should not be submitted. All copy, including footnotes, *should be typed double-space. Articles and correspondence should be sent to:* Herbert Poole, Co-editor; Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C. 27410

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Cover Illustration

Cover Illustration is the logo adopted by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society from the John Collins watercolor of the New Garden Friends Meeting House of 1790. Courtesy of the Quaker Collection, Guilford College.

THE SOUTHERN FRIEND JOURNAL OF THE NORTH CAROLINA FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Origins of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

BY

Herbert Poole

Superficially the establishment of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society in 1976 may seem to have been just another in the myriad of preservationist movements grown popular throughout the United States on the bicentennial eve of the American Revolution. Upon closer examination, however, a number of facts denying such a conclusion come to light. Interest in preserving and recording the experience of the Religious Society of Friends in North Carolina and its surrounding territory reaches back many years. Evidence for this statement is abundant in the numerous manuscripts, printed minutes, and family histories which repose in the Quaker Collection at Guilford College, and number in the thousands.

The earliest formal corporate effort to preserve the historical record, aside from the printing of Yearly Meeting Minutes, first appears in 1940. Just how far prior to that time such interest began to grow would be difficult to determine. What appear to be spontaneous historical developments are often in actuality the cumulative result of converging ideas and desires. If one were to attempt to trace the beginnings of the present North Carolina Friends Historical Society, he or she would eventually have to return to this time now almost forty years in the past.

Minute #21 of the two-hundred and forty-third annual session of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends held at Guilford College in 1940 records that on August 7th of that year shortly after 10:30 a.m. Laura D. Worth, who was Chairman of the Committee on Records, gave a report on the Committee's activities for the two-year period from 1938 to 1940. At the conclusion of her report the minute records that: "The discussion of this report took the form of an informal and spontaneous development of a historical society of North Carolina Yearly Meeting and about 40 persons immediately registered as members and paid a dollar fee."¹

The following year, Minute #56 of the two-hundred and forty-fourth annual session records that "the Historical Society organized as per Minute 21 of last year, presented a report."² Evidence, though scant, of the Society's continuing activity appears again four years later in the Minutes for 1945, one year later still in the Minutes for 1946, and finally six years thereafter in 1952. Beyond 1952, no evidence of the group's existence appears. Were one to rely solely upon the minutes of the annual sessions of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, it would be difficult to draw any firm conclusion about the fate of the Society. Since no evidence for its existence appears after 1952 one could conclude that it may have grown defunct and disappeared. On the contrary, since reports to the Yearly Meeting sessions were sporadic, it would be just as easy to declare its fate unknown. Fortunately, due to other records left behind by the Society, a nearly complete reconstruction of its lifetime of sixteen years can be made. A review of these records is fascinating work, and it establishes rather clearly a strong link between the effort begun in 1940 and that which appears to have been initiated in the winter months of 1976.

The records of the Society of 1940 repose in the Quaker Collection located in the Guilford College Library. They appear in three forms. Most charming among these and most stimulating of feelings of nostalgia are sets of handwritten notes and missives addressed to various society officers. One such document, written in the unmistakable hand of a deceased friend, Dorothy Gilbert Thorne, former Curator of the Quaker Collection, teacher of English, and college historian, begins "My dear Miss Annie Petty" – a salutation which, for those who knew her, clearly belonged to Dorothy.

A second set of records appears in the form of "Minutes of the Board of Directors of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society." Fifteen sets of these exist, dated as follow: November 13, 1941, August 7, [n.d.] presumably 1942, March 14, 1944, August 10, 1944, June 24, 1948, August 4, 1948, June 23, 1949, August 4, 1949, August 9, 1950, August 8, 1951, August 27, 1952, August 5, 1953, August 4, 1954, August 3, 1955, and August 8, 1956. Whether sets of minutes for meetings of the Board of Directors missing from this list ever existed or whether the Board met in years not shown cannot be determined. The contents of the minutes

relate generally to matters of procedure, election of officers, appointments to committees, and expressions of concern consistent with the purpose of the Society as set forth in its constitution, which read in part:

The purpose of this Society shall include the collection, preservation, and publication of information relative to the history of the Society of Friends in North Carolina and adjacent territory. The Society shall encourage the study of the history of Friends, it shall provide for research, for programs, for study and discussion. The Historical Society shall encourage local meetings of the Society of Friends to exercise great care in making a clearer record of their minutes of their various activities. In order to promote interest in this program it is the purpose of the Society to establish local units in areas inhabited by its members; provided, in each case, that the Board of Directors approves the establishment of the local unit.³

In those years when two meetings of the Board took place, business related to committees or programs for annual meetings was usually the main topic for discussion. The minutes for November 13, 1941 are an exception, in that they contain a copy of the report recorded as having been presented to the Yearly Meeting session on August 9, 1941. The report, prepared by B. Russell Branson who was president of the Society, is itself an important historical document, since it describes the events surrounding and immediately following the foundation of the Society. The document stated:

Report of the
NORTH CAROLINA FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

I feel that we should give some account to the Yearly Meeting of what has happened with regard to the proposed historical society. Minute 21 of the 1940 Minutes of last year records the origin of the concern. In brief it was that there should be a Friends historical society in North Carolina. Samuel Haworth proposed it and expressed the desire to be charter member no 1. Rapidly, one after another, more than forty persons registered their desire to be a charter member and each paid a fee of one dollar. Before the close of the Yearly Meeting fifty-seven (57) persons had so registered. Miss Laura Worth collected these fees and made a record of the names.

At the close of that very session of the Yearly Meeting these persons met for temporary organization. Russell Branson was appointed convenor. A committee composed of Samuel L. Haworth, Algie I. Newlin, and Annie F. Petty was appointed to prepare a constitution for adoption.

During the course of the year this committee has worked diligently investigating the constitutions of other historical societies as a guide to the drafting of a suitable society constitution.

At a call meeting by the Convenor on Tuesday evening August 5th 1941 the proposed constitution was read before 29 of the registered members. It was unanimously adopted and we are now, "The North Carolina Friends Historical Society."

On Wednesday evening August 6th the Society elected its board of Directors from a ballot of twelve candidates. The following persons were elected: for three years, B. Russell Branson, Samuel L. Haworth, and Algie I. Newlin; for two years, R. Joy Briggs, Robert H. Frazier and Joseph H. Peele; and for one year, Helen T. Binford, Joseph D. Cox and Annie F. Petty.

We suggest that the registration fees which have been collected be turned over to our Secretary-Treasurer.

Three persons have applied for membership during the sessions of this Yearly meeting. The Board extends an invitation to any one so desiring to become a charter member of this Society by making your application during the sessions of this Yearly Meeting and by paying the fee of one dollar.

In the near future we will send to each member a copy of the Constitution, together with a list of the members, the Board of Directors and the Officers.

The Board plans to have a meeting of the society in the early fall.

B. Russell Branson, President

Exactly who the fifty-seven charter members mentioned in Russell Branson's report were is not known because the first published list of charter members contained fifty-nine names, of which one was described as deceased. Since some might find it of interest to know the identity of the original members of the Society, since eight of them are members of the present Society, and since their identity helps to establish a connection between the Society of 1940 and that of 1976, their names are given below.

Origins of Historical Society

Nathan D. Andrews	David Henley	Annie F. Petty
Thomas F. Andrews	Hettie O. Hollowell	Thurmon Perkins
Raymond Binford	Leah Hammond	D. Virgil Pike
Helen T. Binford	Horace Haworth	Joseph H. Peele
R. Joy Briggs	Robert W. Hodgins	Elbert Russell
Ada Blair	Alfred W. Holladay	Katharine C. Ricks
Emma Blair	Harry L. Johnson	Virginia Ragsdale
Joseph D. Cox	Louise Johnson	Elvira Lowe Smith
E.F. Craven	Josie Knight (decds.)	Avis Stout
Anna H. Coble	Louetta Knight	Theodore Sawyer
Rhodema Crutchfield	Ira Lashley	Laura D. Worth
Dudley D. Carroll	Victor Murchison	Archibald Worth
Mary Dixon	Grant McBane	John D. Williams
Paul Edgerton	William F. Moore	Alice P. White
Ina P. Furnas	Algie I. Newlin	Alice L. Walters
Ellen R. Glenn	Emma S. Neeley	Fernando White
Dorothy Gilbert	F. Herbert Nicholson	David J. White
Samuel L. Haworth	Arilla Osborne	Margaret D. Winslow
Evelyn M. Haworth	Mary M. Petty	B. Russell Branson
	J. Edgar Petty	Robert H. Frazier ⁴

It is the third set of records which is most interesting and important in establishing historical facts about the Society and in fixing significant dates in its development, activities, and eventual decline. Fifteen sets of typed minutes of the annual meetings of the Society exist, one for each year from 1942 through 1956. A review of the minutes indicates that the annual meeting of the members took place in August, at the time of Yearly Meeting, and that the most frequent site for the meeting was in the library at Guilford College. Exceptions occurred during the years 1945-47 when the meeting was held in the Music Building (a former Y.M.C.A. building which was located approximately where Dana Auditorium stands today) and 1949 when old Founders Hall served the purpose. The first annual meeting took place two years after the foundation of the Society and one year after the first meeting of the Board of Directors.

The business to which the members of the Society gave their attention during their annual meetings is reflected in detail by the sets of minutes. Here again, the activities of Society members as described in these documents can be seen to have been consonant

with the purpose for which the Society had been organized. The matters reported in the minutes of the first annual meeting had their beginning during the year before when they had been discussed at the first meeting of the Board of Directors. In 1941 the Board had underwritten the purchase and repair of a volume of great value to North Carolina Quakers entitled *Birth, Marriage and Death Records of Eastern Quarter Perquimans Monthly Meeting*. The history of this document would not be complete for some time. At the annual meeting of the Society some nine years later in 1950, Dorothy Gilbert Thorne would relate an interesting tale about this piece. According to the minutes for that year:

The program for the afternoon was given by Dorothy Gilbert. She displayed many of the rare treasures in the newly constructed vault in the Library, and spoke interestingly of their acquisition and contents. She traced the history of the Perquiman's Monthly Meeting book which has been reassembled over a period of years. One part of it was turned in many years ago when manuscript books were being collected. A second section was discovered by Elbert White in the old Lamb house in Perquimans in 1936. The third section was found by Henry Cadbury in a second-hand book shop in Glen Falls, New York in 1943 or 44, and the last section was identified in the Duke Library in 1949 and was purchased.⁵

At the same meeting in 1941, the Board expressed concern for the care of abandoned Quaker burial grounds in South Carolina, and asked Philip Furnas and Algie Newlin to organize pilgrimages to those located near Camden, Charleston, and Bush River.

By the time of the first meeting of the membership in 1942, Philip Furnas gave an account of a trip to Newberry, South Carolina to the Bush River Cemetery. He reported that an abandoned, unkempt burial ground had been found in a forest. Some of the graves were marked with plain stones, he said, and residents had expressed interest in having them researched and properly marked. Robert Frazier and Philip Furnas were asked to investigate the erection of a marker on the site and to learn if title to the property could be obtained. Joy Briggs brought the group's attention to a small cemetery belonging to New Garden Meeting lying between Summerfield and Guilford College, and stated that the highway department was willing to help with caring for it. The group also

heard a proposal from Herbert Nicholson that year for the erection of an historical marker at Symon's Creek in eastern North Carolina, the site of the first Friends meeting house in the state. The house had been torn down and sold for \$100.

By 1943, the gravesites committee had to report that due to the rationing of gasoline, their project would have to be put aside for a while. The war years were on. Assistance was given that year to Seth Hinshaw in the publication of his history of Southern Quarter, and moneys were approved for the purchase of some Orange County deeds deemed of historical value.

The years between 1943 and 1956 when the Society became inactive were taken up with a variety of projects. Members of the library staff regularly displayed valued artifacts or documents, and papers were heard and published frequently. Examples of these papers were:

Elbert Russell – "The Inner Light in the History and Present Problems of the Society of Friends"

Henry Cadbury – A talk on William Hunt, brother of Nathan Hunt

Henry Cadbury – "The Church in the Wilderness: North Carolina Yearly Meeting as seen by Early Travelers"

Charles Hendricks – "Joseph Moore and His Work in the Development of North Carolina Day Schools"

Calvin Hinshaw – "The History of Providence Monthly Meeting in Western Quarter"

Clifford Frazier – An address on the migration of the Scotch-Irish Quakers to America⁶

Aside from encouraging publication and research, the Society took an active interest in the erection of historical markers as mentioned earlier. The marker for Symon's Creek was eventually erected in 1947, as a direct result of the society's effort. It read:

Site of First Meeting House erected by the
Religious Society of Friends in North Carolina 1705

In 1951, the erection of an historical marker for Guilford College was proposed by the Society. An interesting story surrounds this project, one which demonstrates the political savvy of

members of the Society. The speaker invited to that year's annual meeting was Christopher Crittendon, then Secretary of the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History. While he was present, and before he was asked to make his speech, he was asked what he thought of the idea of such a marker. He was chairman of the committee which had the final word in these matters. He said that he thought it could be done. Sure enough, the very next year the marker became a reality. It stands near the college today next to the old railway station which was once the nexus of transportation for Guilford students. It reads:

Guilford College, A Co-educational college
operated by the Society of Friends.
Chartered as New Garden Boarding School in
1834. Opened in 1837. One mile north.

The minutes also indicate that members would periodically urge a renewal of the spirit which was the purpose for the Society's foundation. One such example appears in the minutes for 1945:

Many suggestions were made by the members in regard to projects which might be undertaken by the Society, such as the collection of letters and diaries, and historical objects of various kinds from families and also individuals. The recording of voices of Friends who have meant so much to their communities and to the Yearly Meeting was also suggested.⁷

This brief review of the records of the Society of the 1940's indicates clearly that its activities were quite varied. Minutes of each of the annual meetings are replete with descriptions of activities of a preservation nature, and they leave one with the distinct feeling that the meetings were interesting and lively.

In addition to hearing and publishing papers, preserving grave sites, encouraging the erection of historical markers, and keeping alive an interest in Quaker history, the Society also took a great interest in the Quaker Collection of Guilford College. How the Society expressed its interest in the collection and what the long-range effects of that interest have been can be seen in the following example— an undated report written by Dorothy Gilbert Thorne. At the time Dorothy was chairman of the Publications Committee of the Society. She wrote that:

In the spring of 1954, George W. Edwards of Winston-Salem gave \$225

to the Guilford College Library, this sum being designated for the microfilming of records of the Society of Friends. Dr. E.G. Purdom did the work at the microfilm laboratory in Greensboro, and twelve of the most important books have now been reproduced on microfilm so that it is possible to consult the records without handling the original books. Duplicate copies of these films were deposited in the Swarthmore College Library.

Early in 1955, the library purchased ten rolls of microfilm from Friends House in London. These records are chiefly those of the Meeting for Sufferings prior to 1770 and contain much valuable material bearing on the development of Quakerism in America as well as in England.

To supplement these two groups of microfilm, it would be of value to have the microfilm of the leading Pennsylvania meetings from which the early North Carolina Quakers came. Swarthmore Historical Library has had a quantity of microfilm made and it would be possible to secure positive copies for our collection.

A grant of \$50 made in 1953 for microfilming N. C. records has not been used since the other fund became available, and the committee wishes to apply this \$50 to the purchase of the microfilm of Pennsylvania meetings. A further grant of \$50 would also be welcome.⁸

The ultimate effect of the microfilming program by the Society has been that since 1969 when the Quaker Collection was able to purchase a microfilm camera and take up the task of filming itself, over 150,000 pages of irreplaceable manuscript material have been committed to film. Prior to that time the documents were highly vulnerable to the vicissitudes of time and insects. The task begun in 1954 was finally completed in 1977.

From existing records it is not possible to determine the reason for the Society's seemingly sudden disappearance after 1956. Attendance at the annual meetings was usually strong, as the following table indicates.

Attendance at Annual Meetings
of the
North Carolina Friends Historical Society

<i>Annual Meeting</i>	<i>Attendance</i>
1942	Information Not Available
1943	62
1944	41
1945	32
1946	Information Not Available

1947	32
1948	80
1949	40
1950	34
1951	44
1952	41
1953	65
1954	Information Not Available
1955	47
1956	34

As can be seen from the information provided in the table, no discernible pattern exists in the attendance statistics. The eighty members and visitors attending in 1948 assembled perhaps to hear Henry Cadbury lecture that year on William Hunt, but no similar attraction existed in 1953 when sixty-five persons were in attendance. With the exception of 1953, however, a noticeable trend downward in the statistics seems to have begun after 1951. As noted, the written record offers no clue to what became of the Society. The record stops, as if the Society, like North Carolina's own Lost Colony, simply disappeared. Former members say that it died from a lack of interest.

It is the heritage created by the Society of 1940 in its brief life of sixteen years which undergirds the new or re-newed Society of 1976, and there is some mild controversy over whether the original North Carolina Friends Historical Society actually died in 1956 or simply went to sleep for about twenty years. Some would contend that the Society in its renascent form is a totally new entity. Others see too many links with the early effort, and believe that today's very active group is merely the old Society awakened. Strong arguments could be made for either position. If similarities in purpose and the presence of members from the earlier Society in today's group can be accepted as proof of an awakening, then the argument for dormancy is the stronger of the two.

In the late winter of 1975 Algie Newlin, Russell Branson, and I were wondering one day why the old Society could not be revived to continue the valuable work it had been organized to perform. Our conversations led to steps which culminated in February of 1976 when a group met in the Guilford College Library (history repeating itself) to see what could be done. Present at that meeting were: Algie (who would be appointed chairman of the group which

named itself the Interim Committee on Oversight), Seth and Mary Edith Hinshaw, Russell Branson, Robert Frazier, Charles Hendricks, Damon Hickey, Treva Mathis, Ted Perkins, and I.

It was agreed that this group would move ahead with organizing (or re-organizing) formally. In June of that year invitations to membership were issued and annual dues were set at \$10, a sum reasonable and necessary to the work of the Society. The response was simply overwhelming (254 persons joined), leading the group to conclude that Quakers in North Carolina and even beyond were more than ready for a renewal of the Society and that they believed as firmly as ever that our religious heritage is indeed worth preserving.

The first (or the 16th depending on how one counts) annual meeting of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society took place at Guilford College in November, 1976. At that time a new constitution and a new set of by-laws were approved by the membership. The first of these documents made it clear that the Society was for all segments of the Quaker community: the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, the Yearly Meeting Conservative, and anyone interested in the experience of the Religious Society of Friends in North Carolina.

¹ North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, *Minutes of the Two Hundred and Forty-third Annual Session, August 6-10, 1940*, pp. 20-21.

² North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, *Minutes of the Two Hundred and Forty-fourth Annual Session, August 5-9, 1941*, p. 54.

³ The Constitution and By-Laws of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, as these appear in an attachment to a mimeographed letter from B. Russell Branson (President) and Anna (sic) F. Petty (Secretary-Treasurer) to "Members of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society," June 3, 1942.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ North Carolina Friends Historical Society, *Minutes of the Ninth Annual Meeting, August 9, 1950*, pp. 3-4. (Typewritten.)

⁶ North Carolina Friends Historical Society, *Minutes, passim*. (Typewritten.)

⁷ North Carolina Friends Historical Society, *Minutes of the Fourth Annual Meeting, August 9, 1945*, p. 2. (Typewritten.)

⁸ Dorothy Gilbert Thorne, "Report of the Publications Committee to the North Carolina Friends Historical Society," n.d. (Handwritten.)

The Social Concerns of Friends in Deep River Quarter, 1819-1932

BY

Robbie Welch Patterson

Today, when North Carolina Yearly Meeting has a membership of over fourteen thousand and has eight very well organized quarterly meetings, it seems almost inconceivable to think of it in the light of seventeenth and eighteenth century life and conditions. At this early time there was only one quarterly meeting - Eastern. Then the nineteenth century brought a large migration of Friends into piedmont North Carolina, making necessary another quarter. This second quarter acquired the name Western. As more Friends moved into the piedmont section and the need arose, from Western Quarter were developed three other quarters: New Garden, Deep River and Southern.

Deep River and Springfield, the two oldest monthly meetings in Deep River Quarterly Meeting, had their beginning as a constituent part of another quarterly meeting long before the idea of Deep River Quarter was conceived. Deep River was begun and organized while meetings in the Piedmont region of North Carolina were members of Western Quarter. Then in 1787, Deep River, being nine years old, became a member of the newly organized New Garden Quarter. Springfield another future member of Deep River Quarterly Meeting, began in New Garden Quarter in 1790 when the monthly meeting at Springfield was established. These two meetings, both of which are located near High Point, remained with Friends of New Garden Quarter until 1819, when Deep River Quarterly Meeting was organized. In the minutes of New Garden Quarterly Meeting the first mention of a new quarterly meeting was made on the 19th of the 3rd month, 1818. At this time "A proposition is produced from Springfield Monthly Meeting for the Quarterly Meeting to be divided with which the meeting so far unites as to appoint a committee to further consider of it and nothing appears to obstruct consider on a plan of dividing."¹

This committee did meet and at the next quarterly meeting on

the 8th of 6th month, 1818 the following report was given:

The committee appointed to consider of dividing the quarterly meeting report they have attended there to and give it as their judgment that the Division take place as follows, - namely that New Garden, Dover, and Union constitute one Quarter, and Deep River and Springfield the other Quarter, but the meeting not being fully united with the division refer the matter to next Quarterly meeting for further consideration.²

Again no definite action was taken, again the matter was postponed to the next quarterly meeting. When New Garden Quarter met next on 17th of 9th month, 1818, the matter was again brought up and the following minute recorded:

The division of the Quarterly Meeting referred from last meeting coming under consideration, and after a time of deliberation there on, the meeting unites with the division and the plan proposed, and the new Quarter to be known by the name of Deep River Quarterly Meeting and to be held the 5th day after the 2nd 7th day in the 1st, 4th, 7th, and 10th month and to be opened at Deep River in the 4th month next.³

Thus Deep River Quarterly Meeting came into existence primarily to serve the large group of settlers which came into Piedmont Carolina during the eighteenth century. These immigrants came from Pennsylvania, Virginia, Nantucket, and Eastern Carolina. They settled in the Cane Creek, New Garden, and Deep River areas. Many families of this migrating group went on into Indiana and Ohio but many remained to strengthen the meetings of central Carolina. By 1759 Friends were so strongly settled in this new center that it seemed expedient to set up a quarterly meeting; it took the name Western. With this background we come again to the need for the development of Deep River Quarter.

The new quarterly meeting held its first meeting at Deep River meeting house, the 5th of the 4th month, 1819. The committee which had been appointed at the 1818 session of North Carolina Yearly Meeting was in attendance and produced the following minute:

In the year 1818 a Proposition was brought to the Yearly Meeting for dividing New Garden Quarterly Meeting as follows: That New Garden, Dover, and Union Monthly Meeting form our Quarter, to be held at New Garden at the usual time as heretofore; and Deep River and Springfield

Monthly Meetings constitute the new Quarter; and that it be held at Deep River and Springfield alternately on the fifth-day following the second seventh day, in the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth months, to be opened at Deep River in the fourth month next - which was united with by the Yearly Meeting. Petet Dicks, Stephen Henley, William Stanley, Abijah Pinson, Nathan Dixon, John Bond, Obediah Elliott, Dougan Clark, and Salomon Sixonaee appointed to attend the opening of said meeting.⁴

"Accordingly, the meeting opened, and appointed Joseph Hunt Clerk, Nathan Mendenhall Assistant and James Mendenhall is appointed treasurer for the Quarterly Meeting."⁵ In appointing these officers Deep River Friends took their first major step in functioning as a quarterly meeting. Another function, according to the *Faith and Practice of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Book of Discipline)*, is that a quarterly meeting has power to establish, discontinue, or divide monthly meetings. Also a quarterly meeting has supervision over the monthly meetings within its limits.⁶ Deep River Quarter at its second meeting begins to really function as a quarterly meeting concerned with meetings, groups of Friends, and sections located within its limits.

At about the same time the Friends were settling in Western North Carolina, a good many Quaker pioneers pushed on into South Carolina and by 1800 there were several active meetings in Union, Newberry, and Laurens Counties. These meetings centered around Bush River near the present town of Newberry and were attached to North Carolina Yearly Meeting. The planting of Friends colonies in South Carolina, however, did not prove to be permanent. Largely due to economic conditions and uncongenial civic surroundings, they disappeared as slavery became more prevalent. Many Friends emigrated from there to the mid-west.

As a result of this southern movement and the organization of Bush River Monthly Meeting, Deep River Quarterly Meeting was greatly stimulated into fast becoming a quarterly meeting which met the needs of meetings within its limits.

At the second meeting of Deep River Quarterly Meeting a committee was appointed to attend Bush River Monthly Meeting to give them help and encouragement and to report judgment about the meeting being continued. The purpose accomplished, the committee at a later time reported that Friends of Bush River should continue to hold meetings. Bush River held meetings for the next

year, when again they become the matter of concern. Again a committee was appointed to visit Bush River and determine the status of that meeting. This time the answer is not so heartening, for the committee, in their judgment, said that Bush River Monthly Meeting should be discontinued. The Quarterly Meeting united with this advice and appointed Nathan Cook and Nathan Mendenhall to attend Bush River with a copy of this minute.

Deep River Friends frequently visited the Bush River community and when it ceased to function as a monthly meeting the names of Friends still remaining in that section were attached to Springfield Monthly Meeting in 1824, although meetings were still sometimes held at Bush River and committees from Deep River Quarterly Meeting occasionally visited them. Among the South Carolina Friends coming to North Carolina were William Tomlinson, John English, and Samuel Tomlinson, brother of William.⁷

On First month, the 16th, 1834, Deep Creek Monthly Meeting in Yadkin County was added to Deep River Quarterly Meeting. This was the beginning of active interest in the northwest section of North Carolina which proved to be a fertile field for Quakerism. Deep Creek, the first of these northwestern meetings to be established, was constantly the matter of concern in Deep River Quarter. Deep Creek, being a good distance from High Point, and not being easily accessible to quarterly meeting activities was often spoken of as being in a "scattered condition." On the 15th of the 10th month, 1840 the minutes indicate that a committee was appointed by the quarterly meeting to help Deep Creek take care of their poor. In a later minute there is evidence that money was raised for this purpose. A minute for the 14th of the 10th month, 1841 stated that:

Friends continued at meeting to render assistance to friends of Deep Creek report they have complied with the appointment and applied the money here to fore raised by this meeting for the assistance of these poor and the said committee further report that of \$89.00 which sum this meeting of Deep River and Springfield which is referred the representatives for apportionments.⁸

Around 1861 Deep Creek again becomes a source of concern, for during those days of war Friends of Deep Creek found it extremely hard to get to quarterly meetings. Although Deep Creek, because of the great distance, could not take an active part in

quarterly meeting affairs, within ten years it had established meetings for worship at Hunting Creek and Forbush. Again in 1871 Deep Creek helped establish Westfield and Long Hill meetings in Surry County. Westfield was made a monthly meeting in 1893, while White Plains was set up in 1885 and East Bend in 1886. With the additions of these meetings Deep River Quarter was composed of five meetings, which covered a considerable amount of territory. The meetings in Deep River Quarter were Westfield, Deep River, Springfield and Deep Creek - to mention only the well established monthly meetings.

In 1886, another addition and change was to come to the quarter. The following minute dated 4th month, the 17th, 1886, recorded that:

On the recommendation of the Yearly Meeting committee having in charge the conditions of Lost Creek Quarterly Meeting, and with the consent of said Quarter, this meeting is united in receiving, for the present Maryville Monthly Meeting as a constituent part of Deep River Quarterly Meeting, with the understanding that said Maryville Monthly Meeting may be allowed to report in writing, and that the business concerning that meeting may also be transacted by correspondence if thought best.⁹

Thus Maryville Monthly Meeting joined Deep River Quarterly Meeting. Deep River Quarter now extended from piedmont North Carolina west to eastern Tennessee to accept this new meeting. This arrangement lasted for about eight years or until 12th month, the first, 1894, when a minute was read that from then on Maryville would be considered a member of Friendsville Quarter, which was located in Tennessee.

At the quarterly meeting session held 1st month, the 12th, 1888, there was a minute to the effect that a request from Westfield, Deep Creek, and East Bend had been granted. Actually, these meetings had requested to be made into a quarterly meeting which would be more centralized in their locality. Then on 3rd month, the second, 1889, the following minute was recorded:

Westfield Monthly Meeting held First month, the 26th, 1889, unites in proposing to the Quarterly Meeting that the following changes be made in regard to the New Quarterly Meeting to be set up in Yadkin and Surry

Counties - viz - that instead of its being held there three times during the year in Yadkin and once in Surrey as proposed, that it be held twice in Yadkin and twice in Surry: the first to be held at White Plains and the third to be held at Westfield, and that it shall be called Yadkin Valley Quarter instead of East Bend.¹⁰

Even though Deep River Quarter spent many years and much time developing Quakerism in other sections of the Carolinas, and developed one of the leading sections in North Carolina, it did not fail to develop its own fertile area around High Point, North Carolina. In 1885, with Deep River and Springfield well-established parent meetings, the vicinity of High Point, North Carolina began to come alive with Quakers, Quakerism, and new Quaker meetings.

The first indication of this movement to begin the modern, present day Deep River Quarter was on the 18th of the 7th month, 1885. At this time there was a minute stating that "Springfield Monthly Meeting requests that a preparative meeting be established at High Point, North Carolina."¹¹ This was approved and the meeting established. Six years later on the 5th of the 12th month, 1891 the following minute appears in the Minutes:

A proposition from Springfield Monthly Meeting for a Monthly Meeting to be established at High Point to be known as High Point Monthly Meeting and to be held the first Fifth day after the first Seventh day in each month.¹²

This minute was approved and High Point Monthly Meeting was established.

On the Sixth month, the first, 1889, another minute appears.

Archdale Friends requested for an established meeting - Springfield Monthly Meeting having sanctioned the request this meeting grants therein an established meeting to be held at Archdale.¹³

To complete the origins of the present meetings in the quarter, High Point Monthly Meeting in 1908 set up Oak Hill Monthly Meeting in High Point. Later, in the late 1940's and early 1950's the quarterly meeting again established a meeting which was called Hickory Creek. Thus with the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century there emerged a new quarterly meeting.

Up to the present point the discussion has been only in terms of

meetings, movements, and groups of Friends. But just actually how many Friends were in Deep River Quarter from 1819 until today? What type of statistical records did these Friends keep? The first mention of a purely statistical report comes during the session held 1st month, the 20th, 1872, at which time the following report appeared: "Monthly Meetings are directed here after to make statistical reports in accordance with the directions of the Yearly Meeting on blanks furnished."¹⁴ Then in 1879 the minutes contain one of the first complete statistical reports. The 1879 membership was 742 and the total number of meetings was 10. By 1890 the number of meetings had dropped to 7, but the membership had increased to 922. In 1900 Deep River reported only 6 meetings, and although there was no total membership given, the North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes seem to indicate that the membership was 623. By 1920 there were 4 meetings in the Quarter, with a membership of 1015. The report of 1930 shows 5 meetings and a membership of 1485. These meetings include all of the present members of Deep River Quarter, except Hickory Creek, which was organized in the 1950's. During the period from 1879, when the first complete statistical report was given, until 1930 the membership had completely doubled, while the number of meetings had been cut in half. This loss of meetings can be explained by the loss of those in Yadkin Quarter, which of course, had originally belonged with Deep River Quarter.

FIRST STATISTICAL REPORT OF DEEP RIVER QUARTERLY MEETING

YEAR	1879
Number of meetings	10
Number entire of Members	742
of Males	330
of Females	412
Additions by request	46
by certificate	2
by births	10
Total	58
Subtractions by disownment	2
by certificate	1
by request	1

Social Concerns of Deep River Friends

by death	5
Total	9
GAIN	49
Children under 6 years	62
between 6 and 21	207
Number of families	92
of parts of families	155
Average age at death	79
Number of recorded ministers	7
of meetings without ministers	4
Number who daily read scripture	52
occasionally read scripture	151
neglect reading scripture	28
Number who use tobacco	149
cultivate it	20
sell it	20
Number who use spirits as a drink	9

Alcohol

The problem of "spirituous liquors" is one of the best examples of statistics being used with a socio-religious problem. The first minute bearing upon the problem appeared in the minutes for the 13th of January, 1842. This minute states that

This meeting being introduced into exercise on account of some of its members being engaged in the pernicious practice of distilling, trading in and making an unsatisfactory use of spirituous liquors directs that the monthly and Quarterly meetings in their annual reports to this meeting forward the number of those within these respective limits who are thus violating our well-known testimony.¹⁵

With this beginning there come all sorts of minutes, statistics, and advices concerning alcohol. On the 19th of the 1st month, 1843, the quarterly meeting read an epistle from the yearly meeting and requested that this minute be passed on to monthly meetings to be read there. The part of the epistle which caused so much

concern read as follows: that members were "to labor to discourage the making, trading in or use of ardent spirits in any other way than as a medicine and report there care to next meeting."¹⁶

Shortly after this the meetings began to send in statistical reports to the quarterly meeting. The following statistical report, which appeared the 17th of the 10th month, 1844, was typical of the answers to the concerns which had arisen over the problem. The "reports from the monthly meetings of the subject of Spirituous liquors are as follows, Deep River reports 116 who use it only as a medicine and 5 who use it otherwise. Springfield 74 who use it only as a medicine and 6 who use it otherwise. Deep Creek 34 who use it only as a medicine and 1 who uses it otherwise."¹⁷

The situation remained acute; throughout 1845 and 1846 the problem seemed to improve little. For on the 15th of the 10th month, 1846, reports from monthly meetings were given which showed that throughout the quarterly meeting there were "15 adult persons who use spirituous liquors other than as a medicine and 325 who do not."¹⁸

In 1848 the problem was still of major importance, for on the 13th of the 1st month, 1848 the yearly meeting summary gave the following report: "...that out of the 1636 adult members reported from the different Quarterly meetings there are 245 who use it other than as a medicine."¹⁹ At the reading of the forgoing report, the meeting was "introduced into exercise and concern and after a time of deliberation thereon this meeting unites in the opinion that the use of spirituous liquor is unnecessary only when prescribed as a medicine."²⁰ Quarterly and monthly meetings were directed to continue their labors of love towards those who still continued in the use of this pernicious article and were to report to next yearly meeting the number, both male and female, who had arrived at full age distinguishing between those who used it and those who did not use it.

With 1865 the end of the Civil War came - the war which had caused so much suffering for Friends. Even though this war helped one major concern - slavery - it did nothing to help the problem of alcohol. This problem continued through the 1870's with various types of references made to it. However, the main trend of all references was clear: monthly meetings were directed to continue their labors for the removal of the use of spirituous liquors as a drink

from their midst.

With the dawn of the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century there was an entirely different approach to the problem. There were still statistics given but not so often as before. There now was opposition to various aspects of the "drink habit", and the emergence of temperance committees to fight the much dreaded problem.

In the minutes for the 16th of the 7th month, 1881, there appeared an interesting and rather amusing discussion preserved in the minutes.

The subject of our members being employed as Revenue Officers, - also the subject of prohibiting the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits in our state, claimed the attention of the meeting at this time, and was spoken on by several friends all expressing the belief that it was inconsistent to engage as revenue officers: also that we should labor earnestly to prohibit the manufacture and sale of spirits.²¹

This marked another beginning in that it begins to denounce not only the use of alcohol, but even the selling or handling of drink. This idea is carried on to more detail as the years pass. On 7th of the 12th month, 1907 there was another minute which was a very strong denunciation of liquor traffic, stating that "This meeting hereby expresses its unqualified opposition to the drink habit, and its emphatic opposition to all forms of legal license of the liquor traffic -, as in the distilling, the saloon, and dispensary or otherwise for beverage purposes."²²

In the twentieth century these Friends moved from the local monthly and quarterly meeting level into a larger, more national movement. The first indication of this comes on 7th of the 12th month, 1912, when the temperance situation was apparently very thoroughly considered. The discussion was closed when the meeting directed the clerk "to address a letter to our Representative in Congress urging them to support the Amended Kenyon Bill or some other measure with the end in view to stop the shifting of liquor into this state and sign same on behalf of this meeting."²³ At the next meeting, 1st of the 3rd month, 1913, it was recorded that the clerk announced that he had written and mailed the letter as he had been instructed at the previous meeting. It was presented to this meeting, however, that the "Webb Bill was substituted in

Congress for the Kenyon Bill and passed both Houses over the President's veto, and is claimed by many to be the greatest victory for temperance in a decade."²⁴

Thus Friends had gained a victory. After much hard work, at last something constructive had been accomplished. Although Friends of Deep River Quarter cannot claim this entirely as their work of art, they did, in their small way help; for they were a part, regardless of how small, of a large group that believed in the same principles these Friends had stood for. This group working together gained a large victory; working alone it would probably never have been successful.

Tobacco

According to the queries, Friends should have been as sensitive to and concerned over tobacco and its uses as they were over alcohol. In Deep River Quarterly Meeting there were a very small number of references to tobacco in the minutes. The ones which did occur were much more limited, and failed to create the concern that alcohol did. Some possible explanations for this lack of concern were: first, it is possible that tobacco was considered very insignificant as compared with other problems of the period; second, it was possible that since tobacco growers were so prevalent around the Deep River section, that it was considered better to avoid the issue, rather than take the chance of offending some friends. Even though tobacco seems to have been the forgotten concern it did appear in the statistical form along with alcohol.

In addition to the statistical information there were two interesting and informative minutes concerning tobacco. The first appeared with the minutes for the 2nd of the 9th month, 1899. Apparently the quarterly meeting had gotten a minute of advice from the yearly meeting which prompted interesting remarks on the subject of the use of tobacco. The minute stated that "a large portion of our members are engaged in its use, manufacture or sale so that we have cause for alarm. Friends were admonished and encouraged to forsake its use and give their whole influence against its use for the sake of our young people."²⁵ On the 5th of the 12th month, 1914 tobacco was again discussed. This time the minute stated that "the use of tobacco in any form was deplored but especially that of cigarette smoking."²⁶

Education

Education has always been a major concern to Friends. Quaker schools and the Quaker philosophy of education took a high place in the educational world from the beginning, both for the thoroughness and variety of their training, and from the fact that girls were given an education equal to that given the boys. Friends advocated this equality of sex long before the idea was generally accepted.

George Fox's liberal foundation principle was that both boys and girls should be taught "all things useful to the creation." Fox himself did not happen to consider music, the arts, or secular literature "useful to the creation." But he left no dead hand to restrain their introduction. These subjects are no longer considered "frivolities" in a Quaker school curriculum but are seen as openings for the spirit.²⁷

Zora Klain in his book, *Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina*, stated that Guilford College or New Garden Boarding School represented the culmination of Quaker educational activity in the state. The Quaker educational activities which resulted in the origin and growth of the New Garden Boarding School serve as an example of the evolution of an elementary and secondary school into an institution of higher learning. While this particular movement had its actual origin in the central part of the state within the New Garden Quarter where the Quakers did not begin to settle until almost a century after the early advent of members of this society into Perquimans County, it is nevertheless certain that the movement which occasioned the founding of the New Garden Boarding School was really the consummation of all the previous educational efforts among the Quakers of North Carolina Yearly Meeting.²⁸ The story of the beginning of New Garden Boarding School has been ably told in *Guilford: A Quaker College*.

It seems that one of the many problems in setting up the boarding school was to decide whether the school should be located within the limits of New Garden, Deep River, Western, or Southern Quarterly Meetings. As the years passed, strife increased between representatives of Deep River and New Garden. Both groups were equally sure that there could be only one location blessed in every

way, and there was no unity between them. In 1833 they returned to yearly meeting and reported that they could not decide where the school should be established. A critical moment had arrived. Addison Coffin has been quoted as saying:

The discussion that followed, at one time, seemed to bid fair to utterly defeat the whole enterprise, but Nathan Hunt, rose amid the contending spirits, clothed with power and delivered one of the grandest discourses of his life. At the close of his effort, silence fell upon the meeting so profound, that none seemed willing to move, much less to speak. With his clear, sagacious discernment he saw the time to act wisely and promptly had come, and he acted. Again rising he proposed that a large committee be appointed to locate the school; this was done, but when that committee met, New Garden and Deep River met with them and again struck fire. The committee, in despair, decided to report that they could not locate, but that the locating should be done in the face of the meeting. The meeting accepted the report, and Nathan Hunt was again equal to the emergency; he sprang the previous question and carried it in favor of New Garden ten to one, and the battle was ended. Though Deep River was defeated, be it said to the credit of all its members, that they accepted the situation in good faith and honesty, and were afterwards active, staunch supporters of the school.²⁹

On the 16th of the 1st month, 1834, Deep River Quarter very enthusiastically, but regretfully announced that the yearly meeting school would be located at New Garden. This, of course, followed very closely after the heated, much known battle over the location, but the loss of the location never seemed to hinder Deep River's interest in the school. From this time on the minutes contain many references to the yearly meeting school. Never was there any hint of coldness over the school's location, only a vital concern to help whenever possible. On the 9th of the 4th month, 1838, the quarterly meeting received a letter from Nathan Hunt in regard to raising money for the boarding school. The minutes indicate that Deep River made their first subscription at this time. Throughout the years Deep River remained concerned for the school, shared its problems, rejoiced in its triumphs and sent its children there to be educated.

Educational concerns appeared within the minutes of meetings as early as 1783 in the form of announcements of the distribution of books for general use among Friends. The minutes of meetings also

contained epistles of advice from North Carolina Yearly Meeting exhorting proper care in educating children. Quakers accordingly concerned themselves to some extent with the setting up of schools as private endeavors in the latter part of the eighteenth century and as organized meetings from the early part of the nineteenth century.³⁰ After 1829, a general, accelerated interest in education is revealed by the minutes of meetings. Committees on education were appointed by the Quaker meetings. Reports of schools were submitted to the meetings which in turn directed further action.

Immediately after the Civil War, this quarter became even more active than formerly in educational matters. This was made possible by the co-operation of the Baltimore Association whose work extended throughout the yearly meeting. Soon after 1876, the minutes of meetings indicate that several of the Quaker schools of this quarter were absorbed by the public school system.

Within Deep River Monthly Meeting there were a variety of educational experiences. For example, Richard Mendenhall, a Quaker, taught at night for sixteen years in his tannery at Jamestown, North Carolina. Young men, old men and boys, busy struggling with the problems of existence, were taught the rudiments of learning. Richard Mendenhall, himself a classical and mathematical scholar of ability, inspired a love of culture. A monthly paper, *The Public School Journal*, published by him was probably the first paper in North Carolina in the interest of education. In 1816, he was instrumental in having a girls' school opened at Jamestown. Also within the range of this monthly meeting, George C. Mendenhall, a brother of Richard, was active between 1820 and 1830 in educating his negroes. In 1835, he established a law school, Tellmont, on his farm at Jamestown. He himself was most prominent in the state as a lawyer and teacher during this time. Some of the state's later most eminent lawyers received instruction there.³⁰

The Springfield Monthly Meeting school, which was in operation immediately after the war, became one of the most important within the range of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting. The first normal school was held in this school and was continued in it almost annually for nearly fifteen years. This educational opportunity at Springfield was made possible by the Baltimore Association of Friends.

The Baltimore Association began its work in North Carolina in

December, 1864, when word was sent to the Friends Meeting House on Courtland Street in Baltimore that there was a large number of North Carolina Friends at one of the steamship wharves in destitute circumstances. A committee from the meeting went at once and found 50 persons whose homes had been torn up by the marches of Johnson and Sherman. These persons had obtained permission to go to Friends in the Northwest. Shortly after this, 450 other refugee Friends came through Baltimore and told of many other Friends from North Carolina who were planning to come.

The situation looked very bleak for North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Francis King realized the situation and came to the rescue. He began to encourage North Carolina Friends, who were mainly farmers, to remain with their work and to try to build up their farms.

To check this Westward migration, therefore, the Baltimore Association of Friends, to advise and assist Friends in the Southern States, was organized in the Spring of 1865. Its object was not to give the sort of assistance that pauperizes but to make Friends self-sustaining, to help them, first, to educate their children and then to improve their lands.

The work of the Baltimore Association centered at Springfield. Joseph Moore came to take charge of the schools. There were no schools in operation by the State and no organization for starting them. At the end of the first year after Joseph Moore arrived there were over 30 schools with nearly 1,000 scholars. Many of the teachers had never been trained or equipped to teach, so during vacation a Normal School was held for seven weeks at Springfield. It was so highly successful that it was held again and again in succeeding summers for 15 years. This Normal School held at Springfield was the first one of its kind ever held in the state of North Carolina. In 1867 Joseph Moore wrote, "We know of no other organized system of education for children in the South in operation at this time but ours."³²

In 1868, Joseph Moore was called back to Indiana to take the presidency of Earlham College. At this time the following minute appeared:

10 month, 17th, 1868

To White Water Monthly Meeting of Friends

Dear Friends:

Our beloved friend Joseph Moore having resided amongst us for nearly three years and being now about to return home this therefore is to certify that his labors in setting up and superintending our schools together with his labors in the ministry which among us have been truly satisfactory and edifying.³³

The new superintendent, Allen Jay of Indiana, was a man especially prepared by the Lord for his service. He was not only prepared intellectually but he was a man of deep spiritual experience. When he was called to this work in North Carolina, he left his corn standing in the field in Indiana and borrowed \$150 on which he paid interest in order that he might come to Springfield and work with the Baltimore Association.³⁴

By 1891 the Baltimore Association had closed all of its work, for the object of the Association had been accomplished and no further reason for its continuance existed. "The work of the Baltimore Association cannot be told in figures. The better conditions of the people and of their farms and the increased interest in education and religion can only be appreciated by those who went through this trying period."³⁵

The quarterly meeting minutes document the concern about education. On the 16th of the 1st month, 1870 the following minute appears: "In accordance with the direction of the Yearly Meeting this meeting appointed a committee to have the oversight of the subject of education within our limits, to visit and encourage schools and to aid in collecting the information required by the Yearly Meeting on the subject and report in 10th month."³⁶

The 10th month report goes as follows:

At Deep River Monthly Meeting there has been one school in operation for a term of five and three fourth months, taught by Mary Holingsworth and Saphronia Robinson with an enrollment of 69 and an average of 38 ½. 40 of the number enrolled were Friends.

Springfield Monthly Meeting had four schools, one at Springfield taught by Deborah A. Steere, assisted by P. Clarkson Blair during the winter and by Mary Holingsworth during the summer. The school was continued 9 months, enrollment 165 - 70 of which were Friends.

One at Oak Forest taught by Rhoda M. Worth for a term of five months with an enrollment of 53. Average 35. 35 of the members enrolled were Friends.

One at Pine Woods taught by Wm. Moffitt 4 months - 45 enrolled. 13 of whom were Friends.

One at Oak Hill partly under the care of Friends. Taught by Parthenia Henley with an enrollment of 68. 16 of whom were friends - school continued six months.

Summary -

Number schools 5

Number enrolled 400

Number of Friends 174

Average number of months continued 6

We take pleasure in saying that the schools with the aid received from the Baltimore Association have met all demands with a little exception.

It is also gratifying to be able to report that the schools have been prosperous and that harmony and good feeling have subsisted between teacher and scholars most generally. And we believe that the teachers have not only labored to improve the students in their text book studies, but for their spiritual improvement also. And we thankfully acknowledge that under the blessing of our Heavenly Father that these have been evidences of the Holy Spirit among the young people. Our desires are that the concern for the right education and training of children may not only be kept alive but increased among us.

On behalf of the committee - Franklin S. Blair

Mary E. Mendenhall³⁷

Slavery

With the Quakers very enthusiastically believing in the testimony that "there is some of God within all men" it is not surprising to learn that Quakers have always had a concern for slaves and black people. For this reason the years of slavery before 1860 and then the Civil War period were extremely trying for Friends. It was during this period that many Southern Friends felt they could no longer endure the situation. As a means of avoiding this problem many Friends migrated to Ohio, Indiana and other northern, free states.

Although Friends are usually considered to be quiet, law abiding citizens, these Quakers would at times take matters into their own

hands. This was done, especially with a pressing concern which was being aggravated. Such a concern was this matter of slavery. For Friends would often risk their lives or their positions in a community to help a slave. Many times the Friends themselves would be breaking the law, but this was relatively unimportant. The important factor was the life saved, or the life which would become free.

Deep River Friends suffered through the depressing problems of slavery and the Civil War. In 1822 the quarter recorded a minute which was to be sent to the yearly meeting. This minute was concerned with the situation of the people of color in Friends' care, and with the possibility of devising a plan entirely to clear the yearly meeting of these people.

Another minute appears in 1827, the minute coming from the yearly meeting and directing Deep River Quarter to pay a certain sum to help assist in moving the black people to free governments.

Then in 1830 the Quarterly Meeting requests the advice and judgment of the yearly meeting on the advisability of Friends buying, holding and working slaves.

In 1837 the Quarterly Meeting read the London Epistle on the subject of slavery. Then in January, 1842 at Quarterly Meeting, the immigrating committee reports that one person of color has been removed by them to the state of Indiana since last yearly meeting.

The last actual mention of slavery was made in January of 1850. At this time it was reported that representatives from the yearly meeting were producing to this meeting copies of the proceedings of Friends in North Carolina Yearly Meeting on the subject of slavery.

This is the extent of the direct minutes concerning slavery. It is likely that these Friends accomplished much more than these minutes tend to indicate. From other sources there are references to how much Friends worked and suffered during this period. Therefore, I am inclined to believe that the subject, being so controversial, was inclined to be censored and most of the discussion entirely omitted from the minutes.

War

For three centuries Friends have had a pacifist stance based on their view of "some of God within all men", and their query which states: "Do you live in the life and power which takes away the occasion of all wars? Do you faithfully maintain our testimony against military training and other preparation for war and against participation in war as inconsistent with the spirit and teaching of Christ?"³⁸ With these two concerns, which are vital to the Society of Friends, we readily understand why war would be objectionable to Friends. Quakers throughout the years have greatly opposed violence and the bearing of arms. These acts have been the source of many Friends being disowned or read out of meeting. Although quarterly meetings usually do not consider the problems of disownment, the quarterly meeting still had a number of problems. The first mention directly upon the war and military service was in October, 1847 at Quarterly Meeting. This time the immediate problem was the avoidance of military duty by Friends. After deliberation the quarter decided to refer the matter to the ensuing yearly meeting for its consideration and advice. War and peace came up for full consideration on the 1st of March, 1890, when Deep River Quarter directed its clerk to sign a copy of the following minute, and forwarded it to New Garden and Yadkin Valley Quarterly Meetings, requesting their cooperation in the effort to influence our legislature. A petition to Congress in the interest of peace was suggested, in the following words:

We, your Petitioners of Deep River Quarterly Meeting of Friends, of Guilford and adjoining counties, North Carolina numbering about _____ persons, respectfully but earnestly entreat your honorable bodies to (reject) the recommendations of the Senate Naval Committee, and other measures, which propose a large expenditure for the Navy, and so-called coast Defense, and other warlike preparations, all of which are a menace to the peace and security of the nation.³⁹

Again Deep River was spreading out, concerned with more than its immediate vicinity; it was concerned with the peace, happiness and security of the world. This Deep River Quarter did again in 1913 when the following minute was recorded:

Walter White presented to this meeting a letter addressed to the President of the United States commending him for his earnest effort in behalf of peace in Mexico and with a hope that he may be encouraged in his further efforts to avert war with this country. The letter seemed to voice a concern of several Friends present - and the clerk was directed to sign and forward the same on behalf of this meeting.⁴⁰

Friends efforts were not altogether worthless. At least they were made to feel better when the above note was recognized. For at the next quarterly meeting the clerk reported that the letter to the President was forwarded as had been directed by last meeting. Too, the clerk had in his possession a letter signed by Job E. Osborne, Assistant Secretary of State, acknowledging receipt of the above mentioned letter.

5th of the 12th month, 1914 the minutes indicate

A letter from Friends of Great Britain on the one hundred years of peace between their country and America was read and considered and we are all made to rejoice that so close a bond of Friendship has prevailed all these years and we pray that this union of peace and good will may continue.⁴¹

This epistle made North Carolina Friends realize just how fortunate they were in having the peace that this country was providing. The idea can easily be traced in the minute appearing on 4th of the 12th month, 1915 which states that the clerks were directed to write each Senator and Representative in Congress from North Carolina. The motive apparently was to prepare and send these representatives a resolution protesting against the idea of expensive military preparedness.

In 1916 Alice Paige White, then chairman of the Quarterly Meeting Peace Committee, as the minute goes, "very earnestly appealed to the meeting to use their best energies to strengthen the sentiment for peace wherever opportunity appeared and to discourage militarism in any form. The work and purpose of the organization with headquarters at Washington, D. C., of the 'American Union Against Militarism' was called to our attention and our members are urged to give this organization, encouragement and financial aid."⁴² Later the records contain a minute which is to be directed to the "American Union Against Militarism", expressing unity with their efforts.

Thus through the years Friends have been concerned over the problem of war and peace. We know much work had been done on this project and yet we cannot measure the results as we measure those of an educational accomplishment. However, we realize that during and after wars Friends have done much constructive work through such means as the American Friends Service Committee.

Considering the length and complexity of the minutes of Deep River Quarter, I chose to limit my study to historical developments and major social concerns. Yet there are many traditions and testimonies often associated with the Quakers which have not been mentioned. In conclusion I would like to mention some of these to illustrate that the meeting was concerned with conventional concepts usually associated with Quakerism and that Deep River Quarter did in its way serve the needs of the people within its limits. concerns are placed together it appears that Deep River Friends were most interested in education and liquor as problems. Stephen Weeks in his *Southern Quakers and Slavery* concluded that North Carolina Yearly Meeting was mainly concerned with education and liquor. He also adds that Quakers were deeply concerned with slavery, but that they felt there was only one way in which to deal with this touchy problem—migration.⁴³ Thus Deep River Quarter followed its parent meeting in stressing liquor and education with less emphasis on the other problems discussed here—tobacco, slavery, and war.

¹ New Garden Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1788–1830, I.

² From New Garden Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1788–1830, I.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Deep River Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1819–1870, I.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Faith and Practice of North Carolina Yearly Meeting* (1948), p. 99.

⁷ Sara R. Haworth, *Springfield From 1773 to 1940* (High Point, 1940) p. 11.

⁸ Deep River Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1819–1870, I.

⁹ Deep River Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1870–1907, II.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Deep River Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1870–1907, II.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Deep River Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1870–1907, II.

¹⁵ Deep River Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1819–1870, I.

Social Concerns of Deep River Friends

- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
¹⁷ *Ibid.*
¹⁸ *Ibid.*
¹⁹ *Ibid.*
²⁰ *Ibid.*
²¹ Deep River Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1870-1902, II.
²² *Ibid.*
²³ Deep River Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1902-1932, III.
²⁴ *Ibid.*
²⁵ Deep River Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1870-1907, II.
²⁶ Deep River Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1902-1932, III.
²⁷ John Kavanaugh (ed.) *The Quaker Approach* (New York, 1953), p. x.
²⁸ Zora Klain, *Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1924), pp. 69-70.
²⁹ Dorothy T. Gilbert, *Guilford: A Quaker College* (Greensboro, 1937), p. 19.
³⁰ Klain, *Quaker Contributions*, pp. 214-215.
³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 199.
³² Haworth, *Springfield*, pp. 23-24.
³³ Deep River Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1819-1870, I.
³⁴ Haworth, *Springfield*, p. 24.
³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.
³⁶ Deep River Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1819-1870, I.
³⁷ Deep River Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1870-1907, II.
³⁸ Howard Brinton, *Friends for Three Hundred Years* (New York, 1952), p. 225.
³⁹ Deep River Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1870-1907, II.
⁴⁰ Deep River Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1902-1932, III.
⁴¹ Deep River Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1902-1932, III.
⁴² *Ibid.*
⁴³ Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* (Baltimore, 1896), p. 297.

The Early Years at Cedar Grove Friends Meeting in Woodland, North Carolina

BY

Margaret Anne White

The Cedar Grove Friends Meeting in Woodland, North Carolina was not established until 1868. Quakerism had made its appearance in northeastern North Carolina, however, almost two hundred years previous to this, being particularly strong in the counties of Perquimans and Pasquotank. It is doubtful that any record shows the exact date of the coming of Friends to Northampton County, but certainly interest had to be stimulated and efforts had to be incorporated long before a meeting could be established in this county. Since the Rich Square Monthly Meeting was first held in 1760, it is apparent that the history of the Northampton meetings is far from short.

Today the Cedar Grove Friends Meeting in Woodland is one of the strongest meetings in North Carolina in spite of the fact that it is not affiliated with the North Carolina Yearly Meeting. This meeting is considered conservative, for it continues to hold to many of the practices which have been discarded by the meetings termed as progressive. Certainly, in order to obtain such strength as the Cedar Grove Meeting exhibits, it is necessary that the ideals of Quakerism be upheld. Respect for dependence upon these ideals comes only through the devotion established by long and faithful observation. To get a complete picture of the Woodland Meeting, the history of its parent meeting must be included. Therefore, the first section of this work will give consideration to the Rich Square Monthly Meeting, giving particular emphasis to items of prime historical interest. The remaining sections will deal specifically with the Cedar Grove Meeting.

The settling of Rich Square began in 1750. By 1753 Friends in the area had set up a meeting for worship. Then on May 31 and

June 1, 1760, Friends of Northampton, Edgecomb, and Hertford counties petitioned the Quarterly Meeting of Perquimans County asking that a Monthly Meeting be "settled amongst them" at Rich Square to meet the first Saturday in each month with "a general first day's meeting the day following."¹ The request was approved and granted, and a committee was appointed to report this to the Quarterly Meeting.

At the first Rich Square Monthly Meeting on June 7, 1760, there was solemn worship, and clerks and overseers were appointed. A list of early members includes approximately thirty names. Following this meeting wherein officers were appointed, the procedures used in the sessions fell into a routine, there being a particular course of action to follow in various situations. For example, when two people wanted to marry, they first appeared in the meeting and "declared their intention of taking each other in marriage." Then a committee would be appointed to inquire into the lives, conduct, and "clearness in relation to marriage" of the couple. The committee to work with the bride was appointed from the women's meeting and that to work with the groom from the men's meeting. At a later meeting the committees would report. Then the couple would appear again "desiring an answer to their former proposal". If the reports had been satisfactory, the two would be "left at their liberty to consummate their marriage." Overseers were appointed to attend the wedding to "see that things is conducted decently and according to good order and return and account of their service to next monthly meeting."²

There were other regulations regarding marriage. A Friend who married someone who was not a member of the Society was said to have married "outside of unity", and such an act caused one to lose his membership. From the minutes of the February, 1774 meeting comes the following:

Friends proceedings in relation to such as marry out of the unity of friends may be attended by standing as followeth—

First when any person professing to be of our society, join in marriage with those of another persuasion, or contrary to the rules approved of and settled amongst us; having first been precautioned against it by the overseers as any other friends, and where any nearer of kin than second cousins in consanguinity, shall join in marriage, such shall be testified against without farther dealing and in cases where friends have not been

first cautioned the offenders ought to attend the meeting to which they offer their papers of condemnation, where it is practicable, in order that friends may be the more capable of judging of their sincerity, therefore it is incumbent on friends in their several monthly meetings to wait sometime for the probation of such, that they are truly penitent and sensible of their outgoings, before they are received into near communion, or employed in the affairs of the church.³

After the yearly meeting of 1772, the query regarding marriage was made to read thus:

Do none make proposals of marriage in less than eight months after the decease of their former wife, or to a widow in less than eight months after the decease of her former husband, and are not the rights of children by former marriages neglected.⁴

In February, 1832, the following was added to the discipline under the head of marriages: "No member of the Society shall marry the sister of his deceased wife, nor no woman shall marry the brother of her deceased husband."⁵

One of the standard procedures of the meeting was the calling over and answering of the queries. These were treated in the following way:

The queries was called over and answered to by the overseers and things in the main appear tolerable well and if any disorder appears there rests a case on the minds of the faithful to put our Christian discipline in practice for a regulation.⁶

As all know who are acquainted with Quaker practices, the child of Quaker parents was a "birthright" member of the Society, today an associate member. If an adult wanted to become a Friend, he first asked to be "taken under the care of friends". This "care" was given by the preparative meeting. There was an investigation of the individual's conduct, and of his "sincerity of request". If the findings by the investigators were satisfactory, the person would be considered in "full unity".

Some very specific regulations regarding membership were given in December of 1781:

...monthly meeting shall have discretionary power to receive children in minority upon the request of their parents after the proper inquiries into

the life of the family be made . . . When only one parent comes in by request, the child has no part of the meeting until he can be received by application . . . Should one parent be disowned, future children are still considered to have full right of membership until it is forfeited by their own misconduct.⁷

So it was that the business meetings were often concerned primarily with regulatory items. Frequently the misconduct of a member caused him to lose his membership. In such cases papers of denial were written against the offender, and he was barred from the meeting. Before a paper of denial was written, a committee would investigate the behavior of the accused. Often this committee worked with the offender so successfully as to warrant his appeal to the meeting for continued membership. If his desire was sincere, and if his efforts proved to be worthy, he was reinstated. It is quite interesting to note the varied reasons for issuing such papers. In the oldest volume of women's minutes (1760-1799) were listed the following misdemeanors: for bastard getting; for divers disorderly practices; for giving her consent to join in marriage with a man not of our Society and contrary to our discipline also for suffering rude and bad company to frequent her house; for disobedience to parents; for swearing; for lying; for not attending meetings and wearing superfluous dress; for taking strong drink in excess. In one case a complaint was brought against a woman for "not using her husband well and for not attending to her business at home." It was requested that friends visit with this couple to determine the difficulties and to attempt a reconciliation.

From the men's minutes the complaints vary to some degree. For example, papers were often written for drinking, gaming, fighting, attending shooting matches and horse races. An excerpt from the first volume of men's minutes gives a good picture of the type of case that was often presented to the meeting:

It appears from the preparative meeting that _____ having had an education amongst us but for want of due care and regards to the principle of truth which would have been sufficient to have preserved him in true fellowship hath abused his neighbor's beast in a barbarous manner and reproachfully denied it but since that has made restitution to his neighbor but has not given satisfaction to this meeting and friends think it proper to bear with him till next monthly meeting.⁸

In this period which was the time of the Revolutionary War, there were many who were "complained against" for having taken oaths. Then in May, 1775 the minutes state that written acknowledgment and condemnation of one _____ was produced setting forth his deviation from religious principles in several respects particularly "in attempting to take up the carnal sword by enlisting under officers for that purpose."⁹

One should note at this point that no outsiders were allowed in the meetings of discipline. A person outside the Society, however, was allowed to attend a business meeting if he requested such from an elder. Often, though, there were visitors from other meetings, the visitors coming from various meetings in America and also from England. When a member of one meeting wished to visit another, he requested a certificate from his meeting to take to the one he was to visit. In a similar manner, there were often epistles from the various Yearly Meetings. In 1796 "We received an epistle from the Yearly Meeting held in London the fifth month, 1796, which was read to good satisfaction."¹⁰

Regularly delegates were appointed to attend the Quarterly Meeting, the Rich Square Meeting being a part of the Eastern Quarter. These delegates were to "represent the state" of the Rich Square Meeting to the Quarterly Meeting. In the early 1770's a request was made to have a quarterly meeting in the Rich Square area. In August, 1773, however, the minutes read: ". . . circumstances believed to be such as to make the renewing of the petition for a Quarterly Meeting inadvisable."¹¹

Other items of business required occasional attention. Early after the establishment of the meeting, one was appointed to "prepare a book and register the births and deaths of friends belonging to this meeting and their offspring."¹² In November, 1764 the men's minutes read:

This meeting orders a subscription to be made and paid out of the public treasury according to the proposals of the printer in London to purchase one volume of the History of the Life and Journal of George Fox for the public use of this meeting which is sixteen shillings starting money the present subscription and the remainder at the receipt of the book.¹³

The meeting house often needed repairing, renovation, etc., and

such items were cared for by the members.

The conduct, spirit, and faithfulness of the members was an ever present concern. The Yearly Meeting frequently made suggestions in reference to this concern.

The Yearly Meeting Minutes directed to appoint some friends suitable to visit every family belonging to our meeting in order to help strengthen and encourage the weak and those that their hands may be ready to hang down also to stir up the slothful and negligent to more diligence so that all may be made to come up to their respective duties and think proper.¹⁴

In 1791 the Yearly Meeting had this to offer: "Taking under consideration the matter of friends' settling on Indian lands unpurchased, direct that no friend settle on such land."¹⁵ It was also directed that a Friend should not move outside the limits of his monthly meeting without applying to and having consent from both the Monthly Meeting and the Quarterly Meeting to which he belonged.¹⁶

A particularly interesting phase of the concern for conduct is found in the treatment of dress. Already it has been noted that papers of denial were issued occasionally when a person deviated from the simple, plain dress of the Society. An address from the Yearly Meeting of 1826 includes a striking illustration of this emphasis:

This same Yearly Meeting was made aware of the many deficiencies in the society, the most prominent being the neglect of attending religious meetings, particularly in the week, deviations from plainness in dress and address, the neglect of parents in instructing children in the principles and doctrine of the Christian religion, and the neglect of both parents and children in reading the scriptures of truth. In reference to the plainness, a solumn message was relayed from the Indian Shawnee nation which said that once they had been able to designate members of the society from people of the world by the simplicity of friends' appearances, (This preserving members in time of war.) but due to the wide deviation from the practices of friends, they were no longer able to distinguish many of the society.¹⁷

The suggestion of war in the Indian message leads immediately to one of the strongest concerns among Friends. Pacifism was one of the original ideals of the Society, and there has always been the sincere endeavor of loyal members to uphold this ideal. The first refer-

ence to this attempt by Friends of the Rich Square Monthly Meeting is noted in an excerpt from the minutes of September, 1772:

Colonel Allen Jones the commanding officer of this county requests to have a list of all male friends from the age of sixteen to sixty years in order that they may be exempted from being called on to act under militia law.¹⁸

Then in November, 1774 came a paragraph from the Yearly Meeting as inserted in the minutes:

The committee appointed yesterday with the advice and assistance of other friends having met and weightily considered what might be the most advisable for friends to do relating to the commotions now subsisting between Great Britain and America, give it as their advice that agreeable to our principles of active or passive obedience or submission to our superiors, we cannot join with things that we do not know in what or where they will end, and therefore think it will be advisable and safe for friends to keep clear of joining in things that may end in distress and confusion,¹⁹

In April, 1775 new lists were made of those exempt from serving under militia law. The lists included Friends of Rich Square, Jack Swamp, Hertford County, and Bertie County, the numbers from each county being: forty-three from Northampton, two from Hertford, one from Bertie, and one from Halifax. In July, 1776, the month of the Declaration of Independence, the minutes stated that the purpose of bearing arms and shedding blood was contrary to what was believed to be an example and precept of the Lord and his followers.²⁰ Several ensuing items attest to the struggle faced by the Friends. In December, 1777: "Friends cannot consistently comply with the Act of Assembly at Newborn the last session requiring affirmation of Allegiance to the State of North Carolina."²¹ Then in August, 1778:

_____ hath so far deviated from the rules of moral rectitude as to have countenanced a man in desertion from the Continental Army, who it is said had enlisted and received the bounty for that purpose.²²

From the same report:

...and as friends are by a late Act of Assembly subjected to a severe penalty for not furnishing a certain proportion of men to act as substitutes in carrying on of carnal wars and shedding human blood, and a

number having already suffered very considerably that on account of which not as yet being collected, it is therefore left to the committee appointed for other services to collect the account of said sufferings in order that they may be carried up to the Quarterly Meeting and also return an account to next monthly meeting.²³

Later in December, 1781 it was declared that any Friends "taking a test of fidelity to either Great Britain or America while the war continues after the counsel of the monthly meeting shall be disowned."²⁴

These items refer to the Revolutionary War. There were further problems when the Civil War came. From a meeting for sufferings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting called to meet at Center in September, 1861 the following address was sent to all Monthly Meetings and to each member belonging to these meetings.

Dear Friends

One object for which we have assembled having been to take into consideration the propriety of appealing to our legislature to continue to grant us that religious privilege and protection which almost without hinderance or molestation our Society from its rise to the present time has been permitted to enjoy, and now learning that the military law has been enacted in which friends are still exempted as heretofore; we have felt that we have abundant cause for thankfulness to our divine Master for his protective care over us.²⁵

Further reference is not made to this problem.

Mention of the Civil War introduces another concern that has ever been of great importance to Friends. Believing that there is that of God in every man, Friends have worked for equal rights for all men. Hence, the slavery question was a major issue. The Friends treated this in the queries, and from the 1771 Yearly Meeting Minutes comes this paragraph:

No friend in unity shall buy a negro or other slave of any other person than a friend in unity unless upon particular occasions such as may be approved of by the monthly meeting to which they belong . . . and it is earnestly advised that all friends who are possessed with slaves do endeavor to make their lives as easy as they can, and that they do not sell a slave to any person who makes a practice of buying and selling them for the sake of gain, without regarding how the poor slave may be used or the great evil of separating husband and wife or parents and children.²⁶

After the Yearly Meeting of 1772 the query dealing with slavery read thus:

Are all friends careful to have a faithful testimony against the iniquitous practice of importing negroes, or do they refuse to purchase of those that make a trade or merchandize of them; as of such as are not in unity with friends, excepting it be to prevent the parting of man and wife, or parent and child, or for other good reasons as shall be approved by the monthly meeting, and do they which have them by inheritance or otherwise, use them well in every respect endeavoring to discourage them from evil, and encouraging them in that which is good.²⁷

When the country was facing war in 1776, the Friends were struggling too.

It was the unanimous sense of the meeting that all members thereof who hold slaves be earnestly and affectionately advised to cleanse their hands of them as soon as possibly they can, and in the meantime that none of the members of this meeting shall be permitted to buy or sell any slaves or hire any from such who are not in membership with us.²⁸

A violation of this would merit a testimony against the offender

...and if any of the slaves set free by members of this meeting should be intercepted in their freedom, or any attempts made to bring them again into bondage, it is recommended to the standing committee to have that or any other matter respecting them particularly under their care and notice, and to appear on their behalf and take such steps for their assistance and preservation as they may apprehend necessary ...and any expense that may arise on their accounts, this meeting agrees to repay.²⁹

It was in 1781 that the regulation was made which stated that Friends who continued to hold slaves would be disowned.

In 1827 a very moving address came from the yearly meeting. This told of the removal of negroes to free governments and of the amounts required for this activity.

...if the Father of Mercies should continue to smile on our operations, we shall in a year or two more, in all probability, be released from the heavier part of this burden, and feel the inexpressible consolation of having plucked from the jaws of slavery, a thousand of our fellow beings and placed them in free governments where they may enjoy the privileges of citizens, and the additional satisfaction of having been instrumental in

performing a work which doubtless will have a very striking influence on the community at large and assist in paving the way for the mitigation or removal of one of the greatest evils that ever afflicted the human race.³⁰

The free governments were listed as Liberia, Haiti, Philadelphia, Ohio, and Indiana. This was the final item which dealt specifically with slavery. It is believed that the query regarding slavery remained.

The keen interest in education that Quakers were noted for was evident in the oldest records read for this work. Frequently sums were called for in order to pay for the purchase of books. In April, 1831 the minutes record the appointing of a committee to consider the subject of having schools under the care of the Monthly Meeting. Then in December of the following year the Yearly Meeting sent the plan for the Boarding School which is now Guilford College. The plan included not only a description of the location, property assets, the number to be enrolled, the terms of boarding and tuition, rules and regulations for government, and type of instruction, but also regulations pertaining to the communication between children and parents, the bedtimes and risings of students, and personal habits to be established.³¹ The Rich Square Monthly Meeting approved the plan and began the subscription of funds. After this reports were regularly included giving an account of the progress made by the school. In 1857 an item from the April minutes indicates that the Meeting sanctioned the opening of a first day school, and that a committee was appointed to manage this school.

Just as the Rich Square Monthly Meeting was established by the Perquimans Meeting, so were requests made by the Rich Square Meeting for the establishment of others. Such a request was granted in February of 1794.

It appeared by extract from the minutes of the Quarterly Meeting held near Little River in Perquimans County in the second month last that said meeting hath established a monthly meeting to be held at Jackswamp on the first seventh day in each month agreeable to the request of the Rich Square Monthly Meeting.³²

The concerns of the Jack Swamp Meeting were much the same as those cited from the Rich Square Meeting. In December, 1797

the meeting noted deficiencies which existed in the group.

...in particular the distillation, trading in and frequent use of spiritous liquors, and the unnecessary frequenting of taverns and places of diversion also the neglect of duty to those of the black people under friends' care, and the want of love and unity among friends also that pernicious practice of tale bearing and destruction.³³

From this meeting at Jack Swamp also comes an item expressing concern for those of the Society who held government offices, for it was believed that "those stations will have a tendency to draw the minds from the simplicity of truth."³⁴ The life of the Jack Swamp Meeting was short as compared to the other meetings of its area. In March, 1826 the records state that the Monthly Meeting at Jack Swamp was to be discontinued.³⁵

Then in March, 1833 a "friend expressed concern that a meeting be appointed in Murfreesborough."³⁶ His concern was favorably considered and he was left "at liberty to pursue his prospects." No further mention of the Murfreesboro meeting was noted. One should understand, however, that such an appointment as this was of a temporary nature being requested for the consideration of some current concern, not for the actual establishment of a meeting.

The first mention of the Cedar Grove Meeting in the records of the Rich Square Monthly Meeting came on April 18, 1868: "...the subject of setting up an indulged meeting near Elijah Outland's claiming the attention of this meeting." A committee was appointed to meet with a similar group from the women's meeting to investigate the feeling of members in regard to this question. This committee reported the following month, stating that nothing was found to hinder the setting up of an indulged meeting near Elijah Outland's. Thus the Cedar Grove Meeting had its beginning. In June, 1868 the Monthly Meeting minutes read: "By receipt of an extract from our Quarterly Meeting we find this meeting is at liberty to grant the indulged meeting near Elijah Outland's which meeting is to open on fifth day second of seventh month."³⁷ Hence, the meeting was established. Overseers were appointed, these being William Brown, Aaron Parker, Robert Outland, Jesse Copeland, Sr., and William H. Elliott. The attention of the Rich Square Meeting was claimed in September, 1868 by "the subject of procur-

ing a right and title of the land on which our meeting and school-house is located near Elijah Outland's."³⁸ Elijah Outland, James W. Copeland, Eli C. Copeland, and John Peele were appointed to look into the matter and to report at a later meeting. This committee reported in August, 1869 that the deed to the lot on which the Cedar Grove Meeting House stood had been procured.

Following the establishment of the meeting at Cedar Grove, the Monthly Meeting was held alternately at Cedar Grove and Rich Square. The committee of overseers for Cedar Grove reported regularly to the Monthly Meeting. In July, 1870 they reported that the meeting had been "pretty well attended; and they believe it has been the cause of a great deal of good."³⁹

The minutes of March, 1872 indicate that a Sabbath School had been opened and was in operation at Cedar Grove.

Cedar Grove school was in session about five months during a portion of spring and summer. Number of children enrolled ninety-one, averaged sixty. Number of teachers seven, one superintendent. The School was kept open near two hours each Sabbath by the superintendent or one of the teachers. Object lessons and blackboard exercises were confined to the gospel and texts were recited by the children bearing on the lesson. The fall term was kept up eight weeks with forty students. The exercises nearly as in summer. The winter term was kept open ten weeks with twenty-five students which has been quite interesting.⁴⁰

The Cedar Grove Meeting as heretofore discussed was an indulged meeting. In September, 1873 an extract was received from the Quarterly Meeting which granted

...the privilege of setting up a meeting for worship and a preparative meeting at Cedar Grove. Meetings for worship are to be held on first days and fifth except on fifth days of Quarterly and Monthly Meeting weeks. Preparative meetings are to be held on fifth days preceding the second seventh day of each month.⁴¹

A committee was appointed to attend the opening of the Cedar Grove Meeting. Later this committee reported that the Cedar Grove Meeting was opened on October 9, 1873. As is obvious, very little specific information is given regarding the actual establishment.

For approximately twenty years the Meeting continued with

only routine questions and concerns. The usual careful attention was granted to discipline and to the other influential issues dealt with a length previously. Then the minutes of April, 1892 indicate that a Quarterly Meeting had been set up in the Rich Square-Cedar Grove area. There was a request that the Quarterly Meeting be held alternately at Rich Square and Cedar Grove. The committee appointed to investigate this reported in May that such an arrangement was approved by Friends of the Meetings.

By this time the question of paid ministry had become an issue. In June, 1892 a document was recorded which registered the feeling of the Rich Square Monthly Meeting concerning this question. This document indicated that those of this meeting thought that no tax should be proposed to pay for evangelical work. "In conclusion, we are convinced that this system is but a step into a hireling ministry; therefore we are conscientiously opposed to paying any part of said tax."⁴²

As the preceding item which dealt with a tax indicates, many of the members of the Rich Square Monthly Meeting were not willing to accept new, progressive policies. The very next major issue faced brought the separation of certain Friends from the Rich Square Monthly Meeting, hence from the North Carolina Yearly Meeting. The minutes of the 1902 Yearly Meeting state: " 'The Constitution and Discipline for the American Yearly Meetings of Friends' again receiving our consideration, was adopted, and goes into immediate effect."⁴³ This action fostered the following observation:

The adoption of the 'Uniform Discipline' by the North Carolina Yearly Meeting introduced principles of faith and modern practices which conservative members felt were a departure from the doctrines and practices of early Friends.⁴⁴

Many of the members of the Rich Square Monthly Meeting were of this conservative group. Hence, there was a breach among the members.

The Yearly Meeting appointed a committee to work with the Rich Square problem. The report of this committee is included in the 1904 Yearly Meeting minutes. This report began thus: "The committee has given prayerful consideration to a question referred to us and have sought to proceed therein under divine guidance and in the spirit of love."⁴⁵ This committee had requested that an

adjourned session of the Rich Square Monthly Meeting be held near the time of the Quarterly Meeting. This request was refused, but a meeting was appointed at Cedar Grove on August 26. Herein "the matter of the Uniform Discipline was taken up and explained, the differences between the old and the new, or Uniform, discipline pointed out, as well as the scope and function of the Five-Years' Meeting."⁴⁶ An earnest appeal was made to the Friends of Rich Square, requesting that they reconsider their position "and not allow the dividing spirit to have the upper hand."⁴⁷

The Quarterly Meeting convened shortly after the meeting of August 26. Here the question was again discussed.

The manner in which the discipline was made by means of representatives of all the Yearly Meetings in correspondence on the American Continent was referred to, and repeated considerations of the said discipline by our Yearly Meeting were mentioned.⁴⁸

"All the labor of love and earnest entreaty seemed to have little or no effect upon those Friends who were leaders in the separation."⁴⁹ These leaders called a second meeting which was to be a Quarterly Meeting. The reaction to this is expressed in a paper read in the Women's Meeting:

Inasmuch as some members of this Monthly Meeting have taken action contrary to the long-established usage of Friends, presuming to hold a Quarterly Meeting, and having proceeded out of harmony to the Yearly Meeting, we, as a committee, by appointment of the Yearly Meeting, hereby make this appeal to all the members of Rich Square Monthly Meeting to act in harmony with the Yearly Meeting and Quarterly Meeting to which it belongs.

This meeting was set up as a meeting for worship in 1753, and as a Monthly Meeting in 1760. It has ever since continued as a part of Eastern Quarter and North Carolina Yearly Meeting. North Carolina Yearly Meeting alone of all other Yearly Meetings has continued in unity without separation.

We appeal to you in the love of Christ who prayed that we might be one, that this spirit of discord and lack of unity may disappear from among you.

To further this end, and by the authority vested in us as a committee, we hereby state that Rich Square Monthly Meeting is continued in harmony

with the Society of Friends of North Carolina Yearly Meeting and all who are willing so to act in harmony with North Carolina Yearly Meeting are cordially invited to remain until the business of Rich Square Monthly Meeting is enacted. We sincerely hope that no one will wish to leave.⁵⁰

The Majority of the Rich Square members, however, withdrew their affiliation with the North Carolina Yearly Meeting. The statistical report included in the 1905 Yearly Meeting Minutes indicates that the Eastern Quarter lost a total of 176 members in the year of the separation. Of this number, 162 were lost by discontinuance of names. These are believed to be the separatists.

The Rich Square Monthly Meeting Minutes of December, 1903, disclosed the difficulties of separation:

There being some unsettled business between us and some other Friends, who have withdrawn from our meeting, the meeting appoints John B. Griffin, Elias Elliott, and T. P. Outland and also recommends the names of E. T. Snipes and W. H. Brown as being suitable Friends to serve on said committee; to meet some of the Friends who have seceded from us at some proper time and place, and try to compromise (if it can be done in a reasonable way) the question, where are the two meetings to be held in the future? If no reasonable compromise can be made, they are to act as they think best, and report to a future meeting.⁵¹

The Yearly Meeting Committee previously mentioned had found after the withdrawal of certain Friends that both meeting houses, Rich Square and Cedar Grove, were in the hands of the separatists. "The committee . . . after careful consideration were united in judgment that a division of the property would be preferable to a lawsuit . . ."⁵² In compliance with this, the committee appointed in December, 1903 made this report in January, 1904:

A compromise had been made, to the effect, that the Friends who have withdrawn from us, take the property at Cedar Grove and the Friends loyal to North Carolina Yearly Meeting take the Meeting property at Rich Square.⁵³

This was considered satisfactory. The committee, however, was to continue to settle business and make reports to the Meeting. The Friends who had withdrawn were to be allowed to use the west room of the Rich Square Meeting House if they wished.

A month after this report on the division of the property, Elias

Elliott was appointed to get the deed for the lot on which the Rich Square Meeting House stood. This was to be obtained from E. P. Outland, a separatist. In March it was reported that the deed had been procured and turned over to the Trustees. All relations were ended after the September, 1904 action by the Rich Square Meeting: "It is the judgment of this meeting, that we inform the separatist Friends, that we wish for them to discontinue holding any meetings, at our meeting house at this place."⁵⁴ Then in October, 1904 the separatists met with "like-minded" members of other Monthly Meetings and organized a new Yearly Meeting at Cedar Grove Meeting House in Woodland, North Carolina. This Meeting has been held every year since its organization.

¹ Rich Square Monthly Meeting Minutes of Women Friends, 1760-1799, I.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Rich Square Monthly Meeting Minutes of Men Friends, 1831-1873, III.

⁶ Rich Square Monthly Meeting Minutes of Women Friends, 1760-1799, I.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Rich Square Monthly Meeting Minutes of Men Friends, 1799-1830, II.

¹⁸ Rich Square Monthly Meeting Minutes of Men Friends, 1760-1799, I.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Rich Square Monthly Meeting Minutes of Men Friends, 1831-1873, III.

²⁶ Rich Square Monthly Meeting Minutes of Men Friends, 1760-1799, I.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Rich Square Monthly Meeting Minutes of Men Friends, 1799-1830, II.

- ³¹ Rich Square Monthly Meeting Minutes of Men Friends, 1831-1873, III.
- ³² Jack Swamp Monthly Meeting Minutes of Men Friends.
- ³³ *Ibid.*
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*
- ³⁵ Rich Square Monthly Meeting Minutes of Men Friends, 1799-1830, II.
- ³⁶ Rich Square Monthly Meeting Minutes of Men Friends, 1831-1873, III.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁴¹ Rich Square Monthly Meeting Minutes of Men Friends, 1873-1903, IV.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁴ "Introduction". Rich Square Monthly Meeting of Friends, Northampton County, North Carolina.
- ⁴⁵ Minutes of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1904-1913.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁵¹ Rich Square Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1903-1949.
- ⁵² Minutes of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1904-1913.
- ⁵³ Rich Square Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1903-1949.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

The North Carolina Friends Historical Society

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THE SOUTHERN FRIEND

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North Carolina Friends
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The publication committee is interested in receiving articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in North Carolina and the adjacent geographical area. Articles must be well written and thoroughly documented. Papers on family history should not be submitted. All copy, including footnotes, *should be typed double-space. Articles and correspondence should be sent to: Herbert Poole, Co-editor; Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C. 27410*

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Charity Cook

BY

Algie I. Newlin

Charity Cook was a prominent Quaker Minister of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. She lived through the last years of an age in which all Quakers were bound together by spiritual ties and lines of communication into one Society of Friends. In her lifetime it was possible for the same Quaker interpretation of the Christian faith to be given at Bush River, Cane Creek, Philadelphia, Newport, Kendal, London, Belfast, or Pyrmont, Germany. Charity carried the Quaker message to Friends in all of these places. Five years after her death this era ended when the Hicksite Separation began the tragic process of splitting the Society into antagonistic bodies which would have little or no communication between them.

Her life gives a clear illustration of the role and importance of the itinerant female minister in the spread of Quakerism and in its survival. It has been said of her kind that "... their ministry was the lifeblood of the Society." The flow of that lifeblood was not just from the strong Quaker centers to the outlying provinces, as Rufus Jones puts it, but it was also flowing from meetings in the back-country to those which were better known.

Charity's life was caught up and swept along by the two most significant migrations in American Quaker history. One, which caught her family when Charity was four years old, scattered approximately sixty local meetings through the Southern Piedmont from Pennsylvania to Georgia. The second, which moved Charity from the South in her sixtieth year, spread Quaker meetings across the Middle West.

As a far-ranging woman minister, Charity Cook gives a clear revelation of the equality of women with men in the ministry of the Society. One of her contemporaries asserted that "no distinction is made as to the powers of usefulness between men and women."¹ Charity never used the terms: "women's liberation," or "woman power," or "feminist movement. They were not in her vocabulary.

She did not need them. She did not need a constitutional amendment to enable her to vie with men in the strenuous role of the travelling minister. In that day the public ministry was probably the only avenue open to Quaker women for distinctive service to society in general, and Charity Cook made use of it to the limit of her ability. She seems to have taken her liberation for granted; considered it a gift of God, her birthright in the Society of Friends. It seems obvious that she felt no restraint because she was a woman or because she was the mother of eleven children. She appears to have evaded no hardships which a male itinerant minister might have had to face. She rode horseback for thousands of miles, much of it through winter months, to visit most, if not all the Friends Meetings between Georgia and Massachusetts.

Her husband, Isaac Cook, was no drone in their fifty-eight-year partnership. He was an elder and an active leader in the work of their monthly meeting. He seems to have considered himself a divinely appointed, home-keeping partner of Charity, the travelling minister. By caring for the home, the children and the farm in Charity's absence, he must have felt that he was fulfilling his part of the partnership and enabling Charity to accomplish her divinely appointed mission. He made it possible for her to be away from home and from their children on many occasions, some of them for several months at a time, and once for several years. For nearly thirty years Isaac met his responsibilities in the partnership as faithfully as Charity did hers.

Charity Cook was a product of the frontier backcountry of the South. For the first forty years of her life she was never away from it. She was born on the 13th of 12th Month, 1745, in a relatively new Quaker settlement on Monocacy Creek a few miles south of Frederick, Maryland. Her grandfather, James Wright, had been one of the founders of the settlement two decades earlier.

When Charity was four years old, her parents, John and Rachel Wells Wright, loaded pack-horses with their seven children along with essential tools, utensils and supplies to make the hazardous journey to a frontier 300 miles away to start a new Quaker settlement. Their destination was the Cane Creek Valley in the southern part of what is now Alamance County in North Carolina. At that time the nearest Monthly Meeting to this new settlement was Carver's Creek, about forty miles north of Wilmington. Their

certificates of membership in the Society of Friends were sent to that meeting.

It seems quite certain that John Wright had gone to this frontier spot during the previous spring and summer. Following the pattern of frontier emigrants, he and men from other families who were planning to emigrate had gone out together, selected tracts of land, established some sort of claim on them, built log cabins and planted limited crops. When their objectives were achieved, these men returned home and made preparation for emigration with their families, probably the following spring. Enroute to the frontier, group or caravan travel offered as much security as was possible in that day. It would have been foolhardy for one man, or even one family, to attempt the journey alone when several of their relatives and neighbors were intending to emigrate to the same frontier. Accidents, illness or injuries might prove fatal to the lone traveller or lone family, but a group travelling together might provide assistance to each other in critical situations.

In the spring of 1749, the Wright family moved out of Monocacy, on the road to the southwest.² Other families must have joined them at Hopewell, near the present city of Winchester, Virginia. The first part of the journey was over the unimproved but much travelled road to the Southern Piedmont. The last half, south of Staunton, was over Indian trading paths which would not accommodate wagons.

On the long, precarious journey this family must have made a picture worth recording, if there had been anyone to do it. John Wright was thirty-two years old, Rachel twenty-eight, and their seven children ranged in age from ten years to three or four months.³ One can imagine that John walked. Rachel and the older children might have taken turns walking and riding, while Charity and the two younger children rocked along in their reserved seats on the horses, the baby's basket being tied securely to one of the saddles.

Beginning a new life on a frontier with a family of seven small children seems at best a gamble. A one-room cabin with a half-loft was close quarters for a family of that size. The stock of corn and other meager crops which John Wright had stored in the cabin the year before provided a limited food supply. They must have had to rely on wild game for meat, and from the creek they may have taken

fish, mussels, eels and frogs. Only the barest necessities in tools, utensils, clothing and household furnishings could have been brought on the pack-horses. Most family necessities had to be improvised and made by hand. Though some of the settlers may have been unable to read or write, it is a mistake to think of them as unlearned. They were highly trained in numerous skills which enabled them to survive on the frontier.

Research has uncovered nothing about the first meetings for worship held by the earliest settlers on Cane Creek, but there is reason to believe that they were held regularly. Enough is known about the beginning of some of the other Quaker settlements to indicate that settlers began regular meetings for worship soon after their arrival. There is a tradition that early New Garden Friends held meetings for worship in the woods, using logs for benches until houses could be built. Cane Creek Friends had been in the habit of regular attendance of meetings for worship before they emigrated to the South. If that had not been true, their Monthly Meetings would not have granted them certificates of membership to be taken to North Carolina.

Two women among the first settlers were deeply concerned with the religious discipline and spiritual stamina of the group. They were Rachel Wells Wright, a minister, and Abigail Overman Pike, who would soon be recorded as one. With these two women in the migrating party it is easy to assume that meetings for worship were held along the way and at Cane Creek from the time of arrival. Less than two years after they reached Cane Creek, the leadership ability of these two women was revealed in their appointment by Cane Creek Friends to go to Eastern Quarterly Meeting in Pasquotank County nearly 300 miles away to request the establishment of a Monthly Meeting for these backcountry settlers. It was nearly 600 miles round-trip, and these two women rode horseback every mile of the way.

Charity Wright did not learn to read or write until after her marriage to Isaac Cook. It seems unlikely that there were any schools at Cane Creek while the Wright family was living in that community. Charity seems to have had a keen mind which she must have used in a learning process fit to life in the backcountry. In the last half of her life she became one of the most able and widely travelled ministers in the Society of Friends. It now seems probable

that in the course of her development on Cane Creek she came under influences which fixed in her mind concepts and aspirations which helped to guide her through a remarkable career as a minister. A major part of this influence may have come from five ministers who exerted great influence among Quakers during this period. All of the five were women.

The first and most influential of these was likely to have been Charity's mother, Rachel Wells Wright. By the time Charity was thirteen years old there were thirteen children in the Wright family.⁴ Although two of them were married before Charity's thirteenth birthday, there were still eleven children in the crowded cabin of this family. Charity saw her mother in full command of this beehive in addition to seeing her work outside the house at the barn and in the fields. In addition to these responsibilities her mother played an important role in Cane Creek Meeting. With the help of her husband, Rachel was able to visit Friends in the Cape Fear Valley where disorders were threatening the existence of two meetings. She was also able to go for long visits among Friends in Virginia and northeastern North Carolina.

There was also Charity's aunt Hannah Wright Ballinger, a sister of Charity's father and an able minister and active member of New Garden Meeting, thirty-five miles away. Aunt Hannah had nine children, but nearly half of them were adults before Charity was thirteen years old. There can be little doubt about frequent visits between the Ballinger and Wright families in their respective homes.

The third minister who was well known to Charity was Abigail Pike, a near neighbor. Either she or Hannah Ballinger accompanied Rachel Wright on each of her visits among Friends in Eastern North Carolina or Virginia. Abigail had nine children also, enough to bring the total for these women to thirty-one, a number sufficient for a local Quaker Meeting. It is quite obvious that these three women were adept at arranging for their husbands to take charge of their respective households in addition to responsibility for their farms during the absence of their wives on long journeys in the gospel ministry. This pattern of life in these three families could hardly have escaped the attention of Charity and the other children.

During her Cane Creek years Charity Wright's education for

the ministry went beyond the lessons found in the life of her mother and the other two women-ministers. When she was nine years old, two relatively young, unmarried women came from the British Isles and stopped at Cane Creek for about one week just after New Years day in 1754. Both were Quaker ministers. Catharine Payton, from England, was twenty-six years old, and Mary Piesley, from Ireland, was thirty-six. They were the first ministers from overseas to visit the Cane Creek settlement. Their journey on horseback would take them to nearly all of the Quaker meetings between Charleston, South Carolina and Dover, New Hampshire; and what they had to tell would attract the attention of Charity or any other child. The stories of their mission and journey, their adventures on stormy seas and frontier trails and their description of England and Ireland and the Quakers in those two countries likely held the attention of young and old.⁵

During their week at Cane Creek, Catharine Payton and Mary Piesley certainly must have been in the Wright home. It is possible that they made it their headquarters. When they began their journey to Dunn's Creek and Carver's Creek in the Cape Fear Valley, Charity's father was one of the two men chosen by the Monthly Meeting to accompany them on their 150-mile journey. These two young women ministers likely gave a new and broader dimension to Charity's preparation for the ministry.

Charity's childhood at Cane Creek was not to be finished without a traumatic experience which might have alienated any girl of less stamina from the Society of Friends or blocked the remarkable career which the future held for her. Just prior to her fifteenth birthday, as nearly as can be determined, someone in the Women's Meeting accused her of having an affair with a man in Cane Creek Meeting. She persisted in denying the charge but to no avail. After a few months, the unbending Women's Meeting disowned her on April 4, 1761. On that same day the Men's Meeting disowned the man in the case for "telling scandalous tales about several of the young women in the meeting,"⁶ which fact may raise some question about the action of the Women's Meeting. By adjusting the date of her birth under the Gregorian Calendar to the new calendar, it may be found that she was only fourteen when disowned, instead of a few months past her fifteenth birthday. In either case, according to present research, she was the youngest member of Cane Creek ever

to be disowned by that Meeting.

Charity appealed her case to Quarterly Meeting. The formidable committee of weighty men Friends from New Garden Monthly Meeting, appointed by the Quarterly Meeting, tempered the decision only slightly by recommending that she be retained in membership if she would admit her guilt and make an acceptable apology.⁷ This she would not do. It was a bold move. The Monthly Meeting, following the directive of the Quarterly Meeting, announced the testimonial against her on December 5, 1761, probably more than a year after the complaint against her was made in Cane Creek Preparative Meeting.

This case was caught up in the most complicated schismatic crisis in the history of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting. For some unknown reason the Meeting avoided any reference to the crisis in its minutes. It seems probable that Charity's mother, Rachel Wright, sharply criticized the way the Monthly Meeting dealt with her daughter. Rachel, a minister of long standing, knew that criticism of actions of the Monthly Meeting was considered to be a serious offense. She gave an apology for her action which was accepted by the Monthly Meeting as satisfactory, but when she asked the Meeting for a certificate for herself and her children to transfer their membership to Wateree Monthly Meeting in Camden, South Carolina, within whose limits they had already moved, some members of the Meeting objected on the grounds that Rachel Wright had not been sincere in her apology to the Meeting. This gave discontented members of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting the opportunity to challenge the control of the Monthly Meeting by what they considered a small body of "select" or "weighty Friends."

When approximately six months passed with the Monthly Meeting still unable to act upon Rachel Wright's request, she appealed to the Quarterly Meeting to prod the Monthly Meeting to act upon it. This immediately resulted in a confrontation between the Quarterly Meeting and the dissatisfied members of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting. When after dealing with the dissident members for six months the Quarterly Meeting attempted to discipline them, they appealed the case to the Yearly Meeting. It was the decision of that body that Rachel Wright deserved a certificate but that the Quarterly Meeting had exceeded its authority in granting it, and that the Quarterly Meeting should not have attempted to discipline the

dissident members of Cane Creek.

The Quarterly Meeting and the Yearly Meeting wrestled with this case for nearly one and one-half years. By patience, persistence and the erosion of time, the crisis finally came to an end. The report of the Yearly Meeting was followed by a lull in the disorder at Cane Creek. During the next five years most of the dissatisfied members had either migrated to Georgia and South Carolina or had been disowned for various reasons. On March 7, 1767, more than five years after Rachel Wright had asked for a certificate of transfer, Cane Creek Monthly Meeting of Women Friends granted one for her and her children to Wateree Monthly Meeting.

On December 3, 1768, one year and nine months after the Women's Monthly Meeting had met its responsibility to Rachel Wright, "Charity Cook sent a paper of condemnation to this Meeting for her former misconduct which was received as satisfaction." One month later on January 7, 1769, the following appears in the Cane Creek Minutes: "The Friends appointed to prepare a certificate for Charity Cook have prepared one which was approved and signed." At that time Charity had been married to Isaac Cook for approximately seven years and was the mother of three children. It is presumed that by this action Cane Creek Monthly Meeting sent Charity Wright Cook's right of membership to Wateree Monthly Meeting, to which Bush River Friends would belong for another two years before they were given the privilege of holding a Monthly Meeting.⁸ Since all the records of the Wateree Monthly Meeting are lost, Charity Cook's "paper of condemnation" is not available. Nothing is known about its character or content, and no additional explanation or information about the note of apology is likely to be found. By this exchange, it seems safe to assume that Charity's conscience was now free, if it had ever been otherwise. The door was open once again for free communication between her and Cane Creek Monthly Meeting.

Charity Cook's first decade at Bush River was a period of eventful years in her preparation for a career as a travelling minister. At the beginning of that decade she had married Isaac Cook. Information about their wedding may be in the lost records of Wateree Monthly Meeting. No account of it has been found. If they were married under the oversight of Wateree Monthly Meeting, she had been accepted into the membership by her own

request. If it had been a civil ceremony, Isaac's membership in the Society of Friends would have been in jeopardy for his "marrying contrary to discipline." So it can only be taken for granted that they were married. The date of the wedding is not known, but their first child was born December 23, 1763.⁹ Such knowledge prompts the assumption that they were married in the first quarter of that year.

Charity had known Isaac Cook during her last three years at Cane Creek. The encounter which she had with Cane Creek Monthly Meeting was as well known to him as to anyone. The birth of their first child launched them into child rearing, and by the end of the decade there were five little Cooks in the cradle or underfoot. In this decade, another of Charity's achievements was learning to read and write; quite likely with the help of her young husband. Within four years after Cane Creek restored her membership, her gift in the ministry was recognized by Bush River Monthly Meeting,¹⁰ which suggests that she had been active in the spiritual life of that Meeting for several years. When she was recorded as a minister, she was only twenty-seven years old. In the early history of the Society of Friends many young men and women became ministers, but in the 1770's this was rather uncommon. The two other friends who were recorded at the same time as Charity were approximately twice her age: one was fifty and the other fifty-four.

Testimony against war was one of the concerns stressed by Charity in her ministry. She spoke to London Yearly Meeting on this subject during one of the early years of the Napoleonic War. In addition to her knowledge of the Quaker attitude toward war, her testimony must have been sharpened by her experience in war-times in America and Europe. She moved to Bush River during the time in which the Cherokee Indians were on the warpath in that area, late in the years of the French and Indian War. A few years later bands of robbers, ruffians and other lawless people roved the backcountry of South Carolina in which Bush River was located. The Regulators in South Carolina organized vigilante forces to protect innocent people in the area. For a time Charity Cook was close to the area of military operations. These disorders were followed within a few years by the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. Bush River was the scene of some of the worst aspects of that war. Here Whigs and Tories engaged each other in what appeared to be a war of extermination.

Quakers incurred the ill will of both sides by refusing to join or aid either. Near the end of the war, Joseph Cook, the sixteen- or seventeen-year-old son of Charity and Isaac Cook, "... was taken prisoner by a band of pirates" (probably one of the bands of armed robbers which roved the backcountry of the Carolinas during much of the war period). When these men became convinced that Joseph would not join them, they told him they would have to shoot him. While they were discussing plans for his execution, Mary Herbert, a girl about Joseph's age, appeared. She told them that Joseph belonged to her and that they would have to let him go. When they refused, Mary grabbed Joseph in her arms and started off with him. The captain of the band, evidently amused and convinced that the girl would not be able to carry Joseph very far, shouted: "When you put him down we will start shooting." Mary Herbert must have mustered her full physical strength, for she carried him out of range of the guns of the armed band and "... in all probability saved his life."¹¹ Two years later Mary established a legal claim to Joseph by marrying him. In this way she took her place in Charity Cook's long line of strong-willed women.

On her numerous religious journeys in America, Charity Cook rode horseback for thousands of miles from meeting to meeting and home to home in every Yearly Meeting in America. For this remarkable achievement she might be called a "Quaker Circuit Rider." Her major concern in visiting a local meeting was to visit every family in the meeting. She said it was an "arduous task," but no evidence has been found to indicate that she ever shirked it. In one meeting it took her two weeks to visit sixty families.¹² The journals of travelling ministers show that many of them gave of their time and energy to this type of ministry. When, during the course of the present research, the striking assertion was found that the ministry of the travelling Quaker ministers was the "lifeblood of the Society," it was thought to refer to the life of Charity Cook and some of the other widely-travelled ministers. The author is now convinced that this "lifeblood" was flowing mainly through the ministry of family visits. It appears to have been a most effective way of touching the lives of Friends of all ages.

During the first five years after being recorded, Charity seems to have restricted her ministry to her own wide-spread Monthly Meeting. Then a minute of Bush River Monthly Meeting for the

30th 11th Month, 1776 shows that she was breaking through local bounds to begin her career at large in the Society of Friends. The minute reads:

Our friends Mary Pearson and Charity Cook informs [sic] this meeting that they have a desire to visit the monthly meeting of Friends, in Georgia, with particular families thereto belonging, with which this meeting concurs and appoints William O'Neal and Henry Milhous to accompany them.

The entire Minute is quoted because it gives the pattern for the travelling ministry of women ministers: two women travelling together, family visits, special reason for going and two men appointed by the Monthly Meeting to accompany and assist them with problems of transportation and other matters along the journey. Upon their return from Georgia, the two men reported to Bush River Monthly Meeting that the visit was satisfactory to them and to the Georgia Friends. Nothing was said about hardships along the way. Their visit among Georgia Friends was in December, a few months after the Declaration of Independence. Later in the war, Abel Thomas, a Quaker minister, followed a nearly identical route to that taken by the two women a few years earlier. In his *Journal* he reports:

We were told that it was as much as our lives were worth to go over the [Savannah] River: that the Indians and white people were joined together in their bloody designs.

...

We rode the River in great danger, the waters being so rapid and the bottom so rocky.

While he barely escaped being murdered, no evidence has been found that Charity Cook was threatened. She must have found the Savannah River just as dangerous, however.¹³

As seen from one perspective, Charity's religious journey to Georgia (her first venture in the travelling ministry outside her own community) was made when the family was poorly prepared for it. She was leaving her husband with seven children. The oldest was thirteen and the youngest was just three months old. The thirteen-year-old son was hardly old enough for much responsibility around the farm. The two oldest daughters were ten and eight—too young to care for the baby and other younger children. The journey to

Georgia was a test of Charity's effectiveness in the travelling ministry as well as a test to Isaac's ability to meet the household and farm responsibilities in Charity's absence. Charity made this first trip at the age of thirty-one; her last was made forty-five years later in her seventy-sixth year.

When the second religious journey was made in 1782 to meetings in North Carolina and Virginia, two of Charity's daughters were sixteen and fourteen years of age. The ninth child was a sixteen-month-old boy. The two older daughters were able to carry much of the responsibility for the care of him and of the other young children. On this occasion, as with the later journeys made by Charity, Isaac was left with the management of the household and the farm, but his children were old enough to give him much of the assistance needed in daily tasks.

During the first decade of her itinerant ministry, all of Charity's four journeys were made in the South in company with Mary Steddom Pearson. Mary was twenty-four years older than Charity. This association was probably a valuable experience in Charity's ever expanding religious and spiritual development. Her concern for the religious vitality of Friends Meetings was one of the compelling forces which kept her on her rounds to meetings in need of spiritual nurture. Itinerant ministers have left the impression that Friends in Charleston were never strongly attached to the Truth, and the Revolutionary War threatened the Georgia Friends with dissension. Charity was led to visit among Friends in one of these meetings on two occasions and three times among the Friends in the other.

In 1787 after five forays for Truth in the South in which she had gone into most if not all the meetings and homes of Friends in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, Charity Cook's concern led her to break out of the South and visit Yearly Meetings in the North. A certificate for this journey was granted by her Monthly Meeting on March 27, 1787. This mission was one of longer duration than some of the earlier ones, but through experience and growth the members of the family who remained at home were better able to fill the gap left by Charity's absence. She could trust God and Isaac to meet any need or emergency. On her way north she stopped to attend the sessions of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting held at New Garden. There she became acquainted

with Sarah Harrison, who would become one of her companions ten years later in a memorable journey through some of the war-torn German states. It must have been a thrill for her to be in Quaker meetings in Philadelphia and in the northeast where she could meet some of the leading Friends of that day. She was in Philadelphia while the National Constitutional Convention was in session. It certainly must have attracted her attention.

On the 28th day of 5th Month, 1796, Bush River Monthly Meeting recorded this significant Minute:

Our esteemed Friend Charity Cook laid before this meeting a weighty concern that attended her mind for several years to pay a religious visit to our Friends in Europe as truth may open the way with which this meeting unites.

One strange aspect of the beginning of this dream mission which had "attended her mind for several years" is that she spent nearly sixteen months, accompanied by her sister, Susannah Wright Hollingsworth who was also a minister, visiting many of the Quaker meetings in Virginia, Maryland, the western and eastern parts of Pennsylvania, New York and all of New England except New Hampshire before taking the boat to Liverpool. Why, one asks, did she undertake this long succession of visits over a wide range of American Quakerdom? It certainly prolonged her absence from home and family. Did her intuition tell her that this experience would be valuable in her preparation for interpreting American Quakerism to Friends in England, Ireland and Germany? It must have been just such a valuable experience. She met and established ties with many of the leading Friends of America, and some who were visitors from England. Martha Routh was one of them, and from her *Journal* we get much of our information about Charity's experience in New York, New England and on the boat to England.

On "Tenth Month, 17, 1797," the *Severn*, a small sailing boat with Captain Goodrich in command, left New York harbor for Liverpool with Charity Cook and two other women ministers of the Quaker faith, Martha Routh and Mary Swett, on board. Among the passengers were other Quakers, among them Elizabeth Wood and William Wigham. For one month and five days the *Severn* made its way through storms which were about as rough and continuous as the Atlantic could muster. Of the Quaker group, Charity was the

best sailor. As if the rough sea were not enough, the Quaker passengers were tormented by a bunch of raucous men who peppered them with ridicule and broke up some of their meetings for worship. Charity was the only one who could silence them. This she did by the power of her vocal ministry.

The voyage was made during the early stage of the Napoleonic Wars, while Britain and France were in a desperate struggle for the control of the Atlantic Ocean. The *Severn* was stopped and boarded by men from the war vessels of both France and Britain and by men from a French privateer. The women knew that their ship might be taken to some distant port or even destroyed at sea. The armed ruffians from the French privateer were especially obnoxious and menacing. They ransacked everything on board in search of valuables which they could confiscate. Evidently the Quakers had nothing they wanted, but when an especially severe storm burst open the door and filled Martha Routh's cabin, forcing her and Charity Cook to stand on the bed and on a table, she said she would rather have two such storms every day than meet one French privateer.¹⁴

When finally the exhausting voyage was completed and they landed at Liverpool, Charity did not take time for rest, nor did she hasten to London to meet Friends there. Instead, she visited all the Friends in the area of Liverpool and then moved her base to Kendall.¹⁵ To her that area must have been holy ground. It was Fox country. Here Quakerism had been painfully born. In this area were Swarthmore Hall, several historic Meeting Houses and even some of the "dirty stinking prisons" where numerous Quakers had suffered and where some of them had died. What a thrill the scenes of this sacred history must have given this self-taught Quaker woman from the backcountry of the Carolinas.

Charity Cook was in England for nearly three years. By inference from her earlier behavior, we may rest assured that she visited most, if not all, of the meetings and homes of English Friends. Elizabeth Fry indicates that Charity's several visits in her home became rather monotonous. It excites one to realize that a woman of her background could be able to minister satisfactorily to English Quakers, among whom were the intellectually elite of the Society of Friends. It is known from various sources that she was able to do this, but ample evidence comes from the fact that English Meetings endorsed her certificate for travel with commendations which the

ever frank English Friends would not have done if they had had any doubt about it.

On July 21, 1798 three women ministers, Charity Cook, Sarah Harrison and Mary Swett, left London for Hamburg and the war-torn continent of Europe. They knew that there was war on the North Sea and on the continent of Europe as well as on the Atlantic Ocean.

Their voyage across the North Sea was a spectacle in Quaker history. The ship on which they had passage was in a British convoy to protect them from the French navy or from privateers. Charity was accustomed to meeting dangers, but one wonders if she did not become excited during this episode in her journey standing on the deck of her ship with British warships on either side bristling with the heavy guns and plowing the North Sea toward Hamburg and three months of surprising adventures in a troubled land.¹⁶ Their attempts to hold meetings and meet people in Hamburg were not encouraging. Their Quaker "task force" then headed inland. If we had a picture of this invading party, it might have shown a carriage heavily loaded with three American women, an English driver, a German interpreter, baggage and more than 700 books and pamphlets—their "ammunition." A few days' journey to the south brought them to four German meetings, all in Pymont Monthly Meeting. They visited each meeting and most of the houses of Quaker families.

At Minden, a fortified town, they had a dramatic experience. When their vehicle reached the gate of the town at night, the occupants of the carriage were questioned rigidly by the soldiers on guard. Then, the man in whose home the German Friends had been holding their meetings was ordered not to allow any meetings while this strange company was in town. The next day was First Day, however, and the regular time for meeting for worship. So, meet they did, and the German Friend was promptly arrested. Then the military commander ordered these feminine intruders to hold no more meetings in Minden. The order came only a few hours before time for Preparative Meeting and, of course, these activist women thought it right that they should attend. Near the time for the meeting to close, officers with a band of soldiers interrupted, drove the assembled group out of the house and nailed the door closed.

The commotion attracted a large crowd to the front of the house. The mob and the excitement were spiritual adrenalin to the

Bush River evangelical Quaker. As Sarah Harrison described the scene:

And Charity feeling her heart warmed with gospel love, began to call the people to repentance, through Lewis Seebohm as interpreter.

But Truth, it should be added, was not given much time to flow through Charity's lips. Sarah Harrison continued:

... the officers came like roaring lions, commanded silence, taking Lewis by the shoulders drew him away, so Charity was under the necessity of holding her peace.¹⁷

At last Charity had met her match. The rough men on the Severn had not been able to silence her, but this German military officer did.

At Pymont, a resort center, it was Charity who spoke to the meeting which was attended by the so-called "great folk of Germany," vacationing there. From Pymont the heavily loaded carriage moved toward Frankfurt on the Main River. At Friedberg, about twenty miles north of Frankfurt, they encountered difficulties which changed their direction but did not silence them. They drove into the town, found an inn, took rooms for each of the five, rented a hall and put out invitations to a public meeting. When about 100 of the townspeople assembled, the governor of the town accompanied by a band of soldiers interrupted the meeting and demanded to know by whose authority the meeting had been called. When he was told that "... it was under an apprehension of religious duty . . . ," the governor was neither amused nor impressed. He ordered the group arrested.

They were taken to their inn, their trunks were opened and searched, their rooms were locked, and the five were forced to spend the next five days and nights together in the common room of that hostelry, guarded by two soldiers who were discreet enough to look the other way while the women dressed. A guard was kept outside the door, and a group of soldiers patrolled the street in front of the building.¹⁹ When had a band of Quaker women demanded such a heavy guard?!

The governor, the magistrates and the other officers of Friedberg took batches of their books and pamphlets home with them for careful reading. Among the books were Barclay's *Apology* and

Penn's *No Cross No Crown*. They were searching frantically for evidence which would help to prove that these three women were spies trying to enter France in their version of a Trojan Horse. Charity and her co-conspirators must have been so elated that they were grinning like Cheshire cats. What better way could have been found to get Quaker propaganda read by such prominent people?

At length they were acquitted of the charge of spying, but they were told that they must turn back to the north and that, if they attempted to go on to Frankfurt or into France, they would certainly be treated as spies. When they entered their carriage to depart they were stopped and handed a bill demanding payment for the expenses of their trial and military custody. The women almost exploded. They told the governor that payment would imply an admission of guilt which they "could not admit," and if it had any bearing on their freedom of religion they would go to prison before they would "violate their conscience by complying with payment."

When the governor explained that they were from enemy countries, that they had slipped into town without notifying the authorities and that they had called a public meeting without a permit, all in violation of the law, the women relented and paid the bill in full. They knew that they should have notified the governor and that they should have asked for permission to hold their meetings. Their justification for evading the law is a rich bit of Quaker history:

We were content in not having done so because compliance probably would have prevented the meeting.

We distributed many books amongst them and had divers opportunities to explain our principles to them; which they allowed to be good. So upon the whole we have no excuse to feel sorry we fell into their hands.²⁰

This squared the violation of the law with their conscience, but it was the Lord who had directed them to visit Friends in the southern part of France, and now they were turning back from that objective. How could they adjust to that?

To make sure that this nuisance-loaded carriage would start in the right direction, the governor sent an escort of mounted troops to accompany these intruders on the first two days of their retreat from Friedberg. The women ministers still would not forget that

they were heavily charged with divinely sanctioned concerns, nor would they remain dormant packages in the carriage during the two days of their well guarded retreat. Their weakness in allowing human authority to change them from a course sanctioned by their Eternal Commander to visit Friends in France weighed heavily on their minds. When the mounted troops turned back they revealed their decision to the two men in their party. As one of the women related the story:

Two days after we were discharged from prison, notwithstanding their threat, we believed it right to pursue our first prospects, being under apprehension that we had submitted to commandments of men . . . we were willing to make another trial if either of them would go with us.²¹

God had protected them through their past trials, and they had complete faith that He would continue to do so even as they penetrated the land of the greatest military power in the world.

When neither of the men would agree to go with them, the valiant three were forced to give up the bold venture, but they felt that God would understand that they wanted to go. As Sarah Harrison put it: “. . . we felt comfortably released not doubting that the will was taken for the deed.”²² Their summary of their expedition into war-ridden Germany is a gem:

In the course of the journey, forty-five meetings were attended, besides paying a visit to most of the families in Pymont Monthly Meeting (which included all the particular meeting in Germany) and holding several religious conferences. About six hundred and seventy-five books (and pamphlets) were distributed and we travelled by land and water nearly sixteen hundred miles.²³

Upon landing in England, Charity Cook and Mary Swett, her companion, continued their mission of visiting Friends in meetings along the route to London. On the sixth of First Month, 1799, Charity preached in an appointed meeting in Gracechurch Street Meeting House to a large assembly which included many of the “richest trading men in London.” Here again Charity was able to attract a large crowd and to speak acceptably to this social and intellectual class of English society.²⁴

Charity Cook must have remained in England during a good part of the year 1799, but it is known that she was in Ireland during the months of November and December of that year. On the

sixteenth of November she was struck down by dreaded smallpox. On November 29th Sarah Stephenson wrote in her diary from the little village of Rathfriland thirty miles south of Belfast:

Dear Charity Cook (of South Carolina) is confined here with smallpox, they have been out for three days and not a large burden.²⁵

Her report for November 30th was a different story:

We returned from Quarterly Meeting held at Lurga, (eighteen miles southwest of Belfast) and found Dear Charity very ill, the doctor doubting her getting over the night . . .²⁶

On December 11th, nearly one month after the beginning of her illness, Sarah Stephenson wrote from Dublin:

We left Charity with the appearance of favorable recovery.²⁷

On January 6, 1800, writing from her sick bed, Charity said she had "a thankful heart that it looks likely I shall recover and be spared a little longer."²⁸ This is all that is now known about Charity's battle with smallpox which must have lasted for more than two months. On December 14, 1799, Henry Hull, a New York Friend visiting within the limits of Bush River Monthly Meeting, wrote in his *Journal*: "We rode to Isaac Cook's whose wife Charity was on a visit to Friends in Europe."²⁹ It must have been several weeks, perhaps months, after Charity recovered before Isaac Cook learned that his wife had had this struggle for her life in a little Irish village, cared for by Irish Friends now unknown to us.

In 1801, Charity made a second visit to Ireland and attended Dublin Yearly Meeting a few months before beginning her return trip to America. The two Irish journeys must have covered several months; sufficient time for her to visit all the monthly meetings and most of the homes of Friends in Ireland. From tradition comes the account of her interview with Patrick O'Brian, an eight foot giant whom we might call the "Paul Bunyan of Ireland." He is said to have "respectfully received her testimony."

It seems a striking coincidence that Charity's return to New York was in company with Martha Routh, one of her close associates on the Severn four years earlier. Martha Routh's husband, Richard, was with her, but Charity's husband did not even know that she was contemplating her return home. After a stormy

voyage, they reached New York on December 16, 1801; four years and two months after leaving that port for Liverpool; five and one-half years after leaving her South Carolina home.

Five and one-half years after leaving her family, the travel-hardened Charity Cook rode into her home community on a Sunday morning, too late to reach her home before the family would leave to go to meeting for worship at Bush River Meeting House. She went first to the meeting house for the meeting for worship. It was a typical Friends meeting house with separate meeting rooms for men and women. However, by opening the large shutters in the partition wall a joint meeting for worship could be held with the women assembled in their room and the men in theirs. Charity, a minister, would sit in the gallery facing the body of women worshippers; and Isaac, an elder, would be similarly located on the men's side. From their respective positions they could not see each other, and Isaac did not know that Charity was on this side of the Atlantic Ocean until he heard her voice in prayer. He waited patiently for the prayer to end, then rose, went through the partition door to the women's side to Charity, stooped and kissed her and returned dutifully to his place on the men's side. At the conclusion of the meeting one of the elders reprimanded Isaac for disturbing the meeting in that "unseemly manner." It is not difficult to see Isaac point his finger at the stern elder and give his quick reply:

If thee had not seen thy wife in five years I think thee ought to kiss her as soon as thee could.³⁰

It was probably soon after Charity's return that she and Isaac attempted to ford Raburns Creek in a two-horse wagon after a heavy rain. When they reached the middle of the stream they found the current too strong for fording. The current carried them down stream, capsized the wagon and drowned the horses. Isaac was able to reach the bank of the stream by catching hold of a floating log. In spite of heavy clothing and without assistance from man or nature, Charity swam to safety. Her swimming skill was probably acquired in Cane Creek; her childhood home had been within several hundred yards of that stream.

In Fourth Month, 1802, only a few weeks after her return from England, Charity was given a certificate by Bush River Monthly

Meeting to visit all the meetings in South Carolina and Georgia. She had a story to tell which these Friends, most of whom were from backcountry meetings, were eager to hear. In 1804, she was given a certificate to visit Friends in some of the northern states. On this journey she had as her travelling companion her husband, Isaac Cook. It was the first time he had accompanied her on a religious journey. At that time Keturah, the eleventh child, was eighteen years of age, and Isaac was now free to accompany Charity on her religious visits.

Isaac and Charity were caught by the stream of emigrants to the Middle West, and on 10-26-1805 Bush River Monthly Meeting granted them a certificate to Miami Monthly Meeting in the south-western part of Ohio. They settled within the limits of Caesar's Creek Meeting, a subordinate of Miami Monthly Meeting, to which some of their children had already emigrated. They were among the early settlers in that Quaker community.

From meeting records we learn that five persons of various ages bearing the name "Isaac Cook" went from meetings in South Carolina to Caesar's Creek Meeting in Ohio; some of them before Caesar's Creek Monthly Meeting was set off from Miami Monthly Meeting. As if an additional complication were needed, in 1813 Isaac Cook, a nephew of Isaac and Charity Wright Cook, married Charity Lewis, a granddaughter of Isaac and Charity Wright Cook. This means that two married couples, with the identical names of Isaac and Charity Cook, were in the records of that monthly meeting. It is not surprising that important historical treatises have garbled information about both couples in treating the deaths of members of one of the couples.

It now seems probable that the Isaac and Charity Cook who went to Whitewater Meeting in Indiana in 1814 were the young couple and that in 1819 Isaac and Charity Wright Cook went to Silver Creek Meeting about twenty miles south of Richmond, Indiana. There Isaac died on 1-15-1820 and was buried. Later that year Charity returned to Caesar's Creek, Ohio. The travelling ministry seems to have been in her blood. She visited several of the meetings in Ohio and Indiana. Accompanied by her son, Joseph, she visited some of the meetings in Pennsylvania and the sessions of Baltimore Yearly Meeting in August, 1820. It was in her 76th year and this was her last journey. She died on 11-13-1822 at the age of

77; probably at Caesar's Creek.

What was Charity Cook's vocal ministry like? So little is known about it that it is difficult to give even a brief answer. No evidence has been found that she ever kept a diary or journal, or that she wrote her memoirs. No one has ever left a copy of any of her sermons. Only brief references to them and two short excerpts have been found.

Tradition tells of her use of intonation in her delivery, breaking many of the words into distinct syllables with special accent on some of them; and alternating high and low pitch to produce a sort of rhythmic sing-song or cadence. It is not at all surprising that she used this sort of delivery, for in that day intonation was the hallmark of good preaching, and it was widely used in some of the other denominations. This method of delivery often produced effects which some of the more irreverent auditors sometimes translated into versions of a humorous character.

Charity Cook must have belonged to the school of evangelism which was in evidence in the Society of Friends in that day. During the second half of the eighteenth century the influence of George Whitefield and John Wesley was sweeping through the English colonies of America, and their influence reached members of the Society of Friends including those in the backcountry. Stephen Grellet, a contemporary of Charity, gave this sort of ministry on his two journeys through the Carolinas in the first half of the nineteenth century. Martha Routh and Sarah Harrison, two of the outstanding ministers of that day closely associated with Charity Cook, were exponents of this type of Quaker ministry. They were alternate travelling companions of Charity in America, on the Atlantic Ocean, in England and in Germany. Thomas Scattergood spoke highly of her ministry and said she was especially effective in "public meetings" which were made up in large part of non-Quaker attendants.³¹ The major purpose of public meetings was to win converts. When Charity spoke to the German crowd in Minden, she is said to have "preached Christ and him crucified" and called the crowd to repentance. Some of the brief references to her sermons and some of the short interpretations of them give evidence of an evangelical tone in her ministry.

Charity Cook's lifespan covered three-fourths of what is called in Quaker history "the Quietistic Period." In that time the itinerant

ministers, both men and women, poured their hearts and minds into concerted efforts to cultivate spiritual purity in the membership of the Society and to build hedges to protect Friends from the worldly influences around them. Charity's ministry seemed to fit this pattern. Among the qualities which stood out in her ministry was a boldness which characterized itinerant ministers of her day. They had a sharp sense for detecting weaknesses in the discipline or spiritual fiber of Friends in meetings being visited. When aberrations were detected, it was the inexcusable duty of the minister to bluntly proclaim it, call the members to account for their weaknesses and point ways for immediate reform.

It is not surprising that she "elдерed" some of the English Friends for what she considered a violation of the principle of human equality. She had grown up on the frontier and in the backcountry of the American colonies, the breeding ground of the democratic principles of liberty and equality. This part of Charity's heritage supported the Quaker principle of human equality in the sight of God—that God draws no lines to divide mankind into different social classes. The servants in the homes of some of the affluent English Quakers did not escape the critical eye of this experienced travelling minister. She saw a wide social gap between some of the "well-fixed" English Friends and their servants, and in her opinion their treatment was often harsh. In a meeting for worship in Bristol, she boldly challenged the treatment of servants as she had seen it. She had already convinced one woman that she should help her servant scrub the heavy kitchen utensils. One irate member of the Bristol Meeting wrote into his diary, for our information, his denial that their servants lived a hard life or were imposed upon in any way. And then he asked the question for posterity to answer:

Is it worth their while to come from America to inculcate principles of equality? . . . Can it be supposed that they are sent for no higher errand than this?³²

Perhaps it was such pricking of the conscience of another English Friend which caused him to refer to Charity Cook and Mary Swett's exercising ". . . their little gifts in the ministry." While Elizabeth Fry seemed to grumble at the frequency of their visits in her home she was led to say: "What they had to say was kind and affectionate." Though some expressions of dissatisfaction are found, English and

American Friends frequently referred to her as "Dear Charity." The few of her many letters which are available clearly indicate that her correspondence was with numerous Friends on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, many of whom were prominent leaders in the Society.

Something of her spiritual power may be indicated by a story reputed to have been told by President Isaac Sharpless of Haverford Collge. As her sister Susannah Hollingsworth was about to leave Charleston, South Carolina on a religious visit among Friends in England, the two sisters sat on shipboard for a few minutes in prayer and meditation. Suddenly Charity told her sister that she must not take passage on that ship. Susannah respected Charity's warning and left the ship with her luggage to wait for another ship. The vessel on which Susannah had first booked passage sailed and was never heard from again.

Nereus Mendenhall classed Charity Cook among the "valuable ministers" in the history of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Of these he named her as one of eight who were called "... to labor for the Lord in foreign lands."³³ If this tribute by the outstanding Quaker leader and scholar of North Carolina Yearly Meeting in the last half of the nineteenth century is a surprise to anyone, a glance at Charity Cook's long and wide-ranging itinerant ministry may remove it. The course of her travelling ministry covered forty-six years, and it took her into most of the local meetings and into the homes of members of these meetings on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. To her a rich part of this phenomenal experience must have been becoming acquainted with many, and perhaps most of the ablest men and women in the Society of Friends in America and Europe. Very few Friends were able to have such an extensive course in Quakerism.

Charity Cook seems to have lived under the compulsion that her ministry must reach all Friends and their neighbors, wherever they might be on either side of the Atlantic Ocean. Though conscious of her weaknesses, she seemed at home with Friends of all levels of learning and all degress of spiritual nurture. John Belton O'Neill must have characterized her correctly when he said that she was a "gifted woman."³⁴ Her life's story corroborates this evaluation. She was widely known, greatly respected and held in affectionate esteem for her outspoken ministry. While she was not a revolu-

tionary minister, she was one of a wandering host of "publishers of truth" who gave a good part of their lives to preserve and strengthen the widely scattered Society of Friends.

1. Thomas Clarkson, *A Portraiture of Quakerism* (Indianapolis: Merrill and Field, 1870), p. 453.
2. This conjecture on the time of arrival is based on the dates and places of birth of the seventh and eighth children: the seventh born at Monocacy, Maryland on 12-12-1748 O.S., and the eighth born at Cane Creek, North Carolina 12-23-1749 O.S. Between the two births, Third Month (May O.S.) would be the logical time for the journey.
3. Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, *Birth and Death Records*, 1:3.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Catharine Payton Phillips, "Memoirs of the Life of Catharine Phillips," *Friends Library*, 14 vols. (Philadelphia: Printed for the editors, 1837-1850), 11:212-213.
6. The complaint against Jehu Stuart reached the Cane Creek Monthly Meeting of Men Friends on 1-1-1761.
7. Western Quarterly Meeting, *Minutes*, 8-8-1761.
8. William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, 7 vols. (Ann Arbor: Edwards Bros., 1936), 1:1015.
9. Bush River Monthly Meeting, *Birth and Death Records*, p. 14.
10. Bush River Monthly Meeting, *Minutes*, 12-26-1771.
11. This story was acquired in Prairie City, Oregon from Aaron Macy. He acquired it from material collected on the Cooke family by B. F. Cooke, a great-grandson of Joseph and Mary Herbert Cook.
12. In Liverpool, England. See Charity Cook's letter to Jonathan and Ann Dawes in *Friends Miscellany*, 12 (4th month 1839): 149-150.
13. "Memoirs of Abel Thomas," *Friends Library*, 13:476.
14. "Memoirs of Martha Routh," *Friends Library*, 12:468.
15. Letter from Charity Cook to Jonathan and Ann Dawes, *Friends Miscellany*, loc. cit.
16. "Memoirs of the Life and Travels of Sarah Harrison," *Friends Miscellany*, 11 (3rd month 1838): 154.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*, 155.
19. *Ibid.*, 158-159.
20. *Ibid.*, 163.
21. *Ibid.*, 164.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. "Memoirs of Thomas Scattergood," *Friends Library*, 8:160, 163.
25. "Life and Travels of Sarah Stephenson," *Friends Library*, 4:204.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, 205.

28. Charity Cook's letter to George and Ann Miller, quoted by Norman Penny in *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, 19 (Autumn, 1930):86.

29. "Memoirs of Henry Hull," *Friends Library*, 4:267.

30. To this tradition the Aaron Macy's unpublished manuscript on the Cook family adds: "I am thankful to God for allowing my wife to return to me after all these years."

31. "Memoirs of Thomas Scattergood," *Friends Library*, 8:149.

32. From the Diary of Samuel Dyer, 11 mo. 25, 1800, quoted by Norman Penny in "Life and Travels of a Southern Quaker Minister," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association* 19 (Autumn 1930):86-87.

33. Nereus Mendenhall, "Historical Sketch of North Carolina Yearly Meeting," Nereus Mendenhall Papers, The Quaker Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C.

34. John Belton O'Neill, *Annals of Newberry* (Newberry, S. C.: Aull and Houseal, 1892), p. 30 and Willard Heiss, "Quakers at Bush River," part 2 of *Quakers in the South Carolina Backcountry* (Indianapolis: Indiana Quaker Records, 1969), p. 2.

North Carolina Quakers: Bona Fide Abolitionists

BY

Susan Tucker Hatcher

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the impact of the slavery question on the North Carolina Quakers, especially in Guilford County, in order to determine what effect the major shift in the Southern intellectual view of slavery in the early 1830's from a necessary evil to a positive good had on the antislavery views and activities of the Society of Friends. It is the thesis of this paper that rather than assuming a more conservative posture as the climate of opinion in the South became more belligerent on the slavery issue, antislavery sentiment among Quakers between 1820-1840 progressed from gradualism to immediatism, achieving expression as bona fide but reluctant abolitionism in late 1838.

For the purposes of this paper, the terms "gradualism" and "immediatism" need to be defined and the confines of Guilford County Quakerism established. Using historian David Brion Davis's definitions, gradualism will be understood as a reliance on the indirect, slow-working means to remedy the evils of slavery, i.e., colonization of freed slaves to places outside the United States such as Haiti and Liberia and as such constitutes an example of antislavery activity. Immediatism, on the other hand, suggests rejection of indirect methods such as colonization and, instead, implies "a direct, intuitive consciousness of the sinfulness of slavery and a sincere personal commitment to work for its abolition."¹ It is in this context that the term "abolitionist" will be proved applicable to Quakers. The Friends meetings located in Guilford County during the 1830's were New Garden, Deep River, Dover, Center, Hopewell, and Springfield which were in either the New Garden Quarter or the Deep River Quarter. The largest and most active were New Garden and Deep River; therefore, references to individual society business will most often come from the minutes of the monthly meetings of these two groups.

The North Carolina Quakers have a long and noble history of the condemnation of slavery. In fact, they were undoubtedly the strongest antislavery influence in the state from the Revolutionary period to the Civil War.² Despite the rigid restrictions of 1741 against manumission in North Carolina,³ Friends, having become uneasy with the practice of keeping Negroes in bondage, freed a considerable number of slaves in 1776.⁴ Forty of those liberated were taken up and resold into slavery.⁵ The General Assembly defended this action, declaring in a new law passed in 1778 that the state had a right to apprehend liberated slaves and sell them and further that the purchasers of such slaves have a "good and legal title."⁶ However, the Quakers claimed that the slaves were resold under an act passed by the General Assembly in 1777, after the slaves had been manumitted.⁷ Attorneys were hired by the Quakers to appeal to the courts on behalf of those "manumitted and unjustly reduced again to slavery," though to little purpose.⁸

It was no accident that the first case of emancipation on record by the Friends occurred in 1776 since one of the grounds upon which they based their opposition to slavery was its inconsistency with the Declaration of Independence. The standing committee appointed to visit Friends and assist them in setting their Negroes free published a statement of the motive which induced them to take such action ". . . being fully persuaded that freedom is the natural right of all mankind, and that no law moral or divine, has given us a right to or property in the persons of our fellow creatures any longer than they are in a state of minority, we are desirous to restore to them their liberty and thus to fulfill the injunction of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ—doing to others as we would be done by."⁹

Another basis for Quaker condemnation of slavery was its incompatibility with Christian principles. These were set forth in the tenets of their church. The statement of these sentiments appearing in the 1823 *Discipline* read, "we have found it to be our indispensable duty, to declare to the world our belief of the repugnancy of slavery to the Christian religion. It therefore remains to be our continued concern, to prohibit our members from holding in bondage our fellow men . . . or being accessory to any step whereby their bondage may be prolonged." Disownment was deemed justifiable punishment for those members who could not be "brought to

such a sense of their injustice" as to restore "such slave to his or her natural liberty."¹⁰

From the outset, Friends sought recourse in the North Carolina General Assembly to get the laws governing manumission changed. In 1787 they presented a petition to the legislature expressing deep concern for the welfare of the country. "We are apprehensive the Emancipation of Slaves is in no wise inconsistent with the principles of the present Constitution. . . . Inasmuch as it is righteousness which exalteth a nation and sin is a reproach to any people, will not such treatment of our fellow creatures incur the displeasure . . . of God?" Opposing the existence of laws "whereby civil and religious liberties of mankind are so frequently violated," North Carolina Quakers noted that every other state except Georgia allowed a choice in the matter of emancipation. Moreover, near the end of the document the following appeal was made, "And we do most ardently wish that a total prohibition may be put to the importation of slaves into this sstate."¹¹ The General Assembly's response was to pass a new law in 1788 which declared "these divers persons (who free their slaves) from religious motives" to be in violation of the law and to empower sheriffs to apprehend all such slaves.¹²

By the time the Quakers began in earnest to protest the existence of slavery, the Census of 1790 showed a population for Guilford County of 616 slaves, 27 free Negroes, and 6,648 whites.¹³ This was a considerably smaller black population than resided in the eastern part of the state where the climate and soil made the use of slaves in agriculture more profitable.

Notwithstanding the fact that Friends' efforts on behalf of emancipation repeatedly met "with the usual want of success," almost every year during the 1790's they petitioned the legislature, "not to enjoin a general emancipation or to compel any to liberate their slaves—only that liberty of conscience in that respect may be allowed. . . ."¹⁴ Meanwhile, Quakers were investigating other avenues which might relieve them of what they regarded as the awesome sin of slaveholding, when a bill approved by the legislature in 1796 seemed to present a possible way for them to escape this burden and still stay within the confines of the law. The loop hole they seized to evade the manumission laws was the phrase stating that religious societies may appoint persons empowered to receive "donation" and they may purchase, take, and hold property, real

and personal, in trust for religious societies.¹⁵ The Quaker plan provided for agents appointed as trustees of the Yearly Meeting to receive assignments of slaves from Quaker slaveholding masters and to hold them in trust until such time as the slaves could be freed and colonized outside the United States or resettled in free states.¹⁶ The agents had great latitude in their management of the "people of colour under Friends' Care," being authorized to hire them out, receive their wages, pay their debts and reserve part of their earnings to help pay to remove them to another government.¹⁷

Despite the formulation of this plan in the late 1790's, twelve years elapsed before the North Carolina Yearly Meeting itself became a slaveholder by agreeing to accept slaves as "donations" from individual Friends. Even then, not every Quaker saw fit to participate in the trusteeship system. The minutes of the New Garden Monthly Meeting in 1809 registered "complaints against Thomas O'Neal for purchasing Negroes and against Hugh O'Neal for purchasing and holding slaves . . . for which misconduct this meeting disowns them from being members of our society."¹⁸ Further evidence of Friends "still holding mankinde as slaves" was found in the Deep River Monthly Meeting Minutes for the same year.¹⁹

In addition to the reluctance of certain Quaker masters to relinquish their slaves to the trusteeship plan, the measure also aroused the ire of Quaker heirs whose would-be inheritance had been put in the trusteeship of Friends. Almost from its inception, the plan's legality was challenged in court. Numerous battles ensued between disgruntled heirs trying to recover former slaves and the Society which fought to retain the right to hold slaves and protect them from reversion to slave status. But, in general, it was the Society of Friends which usually emerged the loser. In the case of *Redmond vs. Coffin*, the Judge ruled that "however praiseworthy the motive for accepting such a trust, or however benevolent the will of the donor may be, it cannot be supported in a court of justice."²⁰ So, besides the legal fees incurred in defending the slaves from would-be masters, the Yearly Meeting Minutes contain several references to damage suits that went against Friends, for which the Yearly Meeting had to make monetary restitution.²¹

Nevertheless, despite incidences of opposition to the plan, the majority of Quakers welcomed this means of ridding themselves of

their slaves, and by 1814 the area formerly containing the heaviest concentration of Quaker slaveholders reported that "nearly all the Black people belonging to Friends of the Eastern Quarter have been transferred to the trustees of the Yearly Meeting."²² A report of the plan's progress during the first three decades of the century was one of continuing increase in the number of people of colour under Friends' care. So popular had the trusteeship system become by 1822, that Quakers were receiving inquiries from non-members requesting permission to consign their slaves to Friends' care. However, the Yearly Meeting of that year ruled that "no assignments for people of colour except from members of our own Yearly Meeting" can be received.²³ The year 1824 was the peak one for Negroes in the trust of the Society when it was reported that 727 persons of colour had been conveyed to agents of the Yearly Meeting.²⁴ Still, the limited impact of the statewide Quaker emancipation operation can be seen from the 1820 Census report of 205,017 slaves in North Carolina (1,611 of whom lived in Guilford County) compared with the 1820 Yearly Meeting Minutes that "as near as they can be certain there are about 400 people of colour under Friends' care."²⁵

But while the number of slaves under Quaker care was increasing, the number of Quaker residents in North Carolina, especially Guilford, was decreasing because as Levi Coffin, a prominent Guilford County Quaker said, "Slavery and Quakerism could not prosper together." Many Friends from New Garden were moving to the free western states.²⁶ Coffin himself would emigrate to Indiana in 1826. By 1827 Governor Hutchins G. Burton in his inaugural address was lamenting the tide of emigration now flowing to the West from Guilford and Randolph Counties.²⁷ Various reasons have been offered for this western migration, but there is ample evidence in the entries in the Minutes of the various monthly meetings to conclude that slavery was a main factor behind the Quaker emigration from North Carolina during the antebellum period. Although this wave of emigration to such free states as Indiana and Ohio would ebb and flow between 1800-1860, requests for "certificates" of removal would remain a significant item of business in the monthly and quarterly meetings in Guilford County. Even as late as 1852, a student at the New Garden Boarding School commented in a letter to his brother, "The

Western fever is raging in this neighborhood at this time.”²⁸

By the second decade of the nineteenth century, the Guilford County Friends were firmly committed to an antislavery posture, with the express purposes of amelioration of slavery and its gradual extinction. In addition to the work of their Yearly Meeting, Quakers were always searching for new measures by which to influence the course of slavery. Two such actions in which Friends publicly declared their antislavery intentions took place in 1816 and 1817. The first action, while not church-sponsored, nonetheless received approval from the local societies and involved the participation of several of their members. Before 1816 there had existed several local manumission societies centered in certain Friends' meeting houses in Guilford and Randolph counties, but on July 19, 1816 these groups convened to form the General Association of the Manumission Society of North Carolina with an aggregate membership of 147.²⁹ Although a Quaker-dominated society, membership of all persuasions was encouraged, and Levi Coffin recalls that a number of non-Quaker slaveholders were interested in the movement, and occasionally attended its meetings.³⁰

The constitution of the Manumission Society contained the usual references to the conflict between slavery and the Declaration of Independence with this added admonishment: “But more especially in these United States where the principles of freedom are so highly professed—the toleration of Slavery must be more degrading in proportion to our profession of being more enlightened. . . .” The Society's objectives were to bear witness against involuntary Slavery and to assist those engaged in the “same laudable pursuits. . . .”³¹ As political action was immediately rejected with the Society's veto of a proposal to impeach any member who voted for a candidate who did not favor emancipation, activities primarily centered around correspondence with various religious societies in the Piedmont, manumission societies in other states, and with the American Colonization Society; but all of this activity yielded only meager results.³²

In keeping with the Society's stated objective to testify against slavery, there were frequent discussions about the merits of petitions to the United States Congress, but the Manumission Society saw fit to send only one such petition between 1816 and 1824.³³ Officially, the North Carolina Manumission Society lasted eighteen

years, 1816–1834, but, in fact, its vitality was of much shorter duration. An incident that boded ill for the future of the group occurred shortly after its inception when a motion to amend the constitution to include “Colonization” in the title was passed, but not before sharp debate had prompted the withdrawal of several Quakers belonging to the New Garden branch. Among those who abhorred the name change was Levi Coffin, alleged President of the “Underground Railroad,” who by his own claim helped 2,000 fugitives to freedom. He called the attempt to make colonization a condition of freedom “an odious plan of expatriation concocted by slaveholders” to get rid of free Negroes whom they regard as a dangerous element among slaves.³⁴

Regardless of such vocal opposition, it is apparent that the majority of manumission society members did not agree with Coffin’s condemnation of colonization as a viable goal because the Society continued to grow, boasting a membership in 1819 of 281, but it is also clear that the Society’s views toward manumission had been tempered. In 1821 the question of title resurfaced causing the Society President Aaron Coffin to comment, “With regard to colonizing there seems to be some difference of opinion. . . .”³⁵ When the following year brought a request to remove “Colonization” from the Society’s title, the name battle had come full circle.

However, despite the internal troubles among some manumission society members over the colonization question, most Quakers in Guilford County were not opposed to colonization on a voluntary basis. At their Yearly Meeting in 1817, Friends reaffirmed their commitment to this idea not only by sending yet another petition to the North Carolina legislature but also by requesting that the General Assembly act “in concert with the plan of general government for colonizing which will probably go into effect, and prohibit the introduction of slaves into the State which would be a means of discouraging the unrighteous traffic. . . .”³⁶ Always staunch supporters of the American Colonization Society, the 1818 Yearly Meeting appropriated \$1,000.00 to aid this society in its work.

Eventually, however, internal dissension between colonizationists and manumissionists created a division in the Manumission Society which its president lamented in view of the fact that “we all have professedly the same object in view, the gradual emancipation of the slave population. . . .”³⁷ By 1821 poor attendance was

again plaguing the group, and in 1824 it appeared on the verge of folding. In defense of the imperceptible progress the Society had made, President Aaron Coffin said “. . . improvements in morality, must, like other improvements be gradual. . . .”³⁸

Faced with the prospect of imminent dissolution, the North Carolina Manumission Society revised its constitution, inserted abolition of slavery as its aim, albeit gradual, and dropped “Colonization” from its title, signifying the Society’s decision not to engage in colonization efforts, thereby, moving closer to the abolitionist movement.³⁹ In September, 1827, the manumission society minutes contained a resolution expressing appreciation to benevolent societies “whose single efforts have been directed to the aboliton of Slavery in their respective states without the aid of foreign colonization.”⁴⁰

Even though the entire manumission society membership was not Quaker, many of the Society’s leaders were and, as such, were often the same people also responsible for formulating antislavery policy within the local Quaker societies. Consequently, as the Manumission Society became more abolitionist in its views, a similar trend was reflected, to some extent, in the various Guilford County Friends meetings.

Despite its policies, interest in the Manumission Society continued to decline until an appeal to apathetic members began appearing in their meeting notices. The Greensborough *Patriot* of August, 1832, whose editor William Swain was a prominent non-Quaker member of the Manumission Society, printed the following notice: “All branches ever recognized . . . are still considered members . . . and are earnestly solicited to be represented. . . .”⁴¹ The organization’s imminent demise remained unknown even to those interested few who attended what was to be its final meeting on July 25, 1834, at which time a resolution was passed to continue operation of the Society.⁴²

Thus, with the collapse of the North Carolina Manumission Society, the Guilford County Quakers lost a valuable forum whose dual advantages of offering wider public exposure for their anti-slavery views and of providing the opportunity for co-operation with non-Quaker antislavery advocates would be sorely missed. For Friends who had used the Society as another medium for expressing their sentiment against slavery, their church now remained

the only means through which they could mitigate the harshness of slavery and work for its gradual eradication.

As the trusteeship plan of slaveholding had been intended as a temporary measure only, the most pressing problem facing the Yearly Meeting in the mid-1820's was the manumission and removal of all the colored people held by them that were willing to leave the country. The Quaker position was best explained in the Yearly Meeting Minutes for 1826 which concluded that as "there appears to be no prospect of their [Negroes] enjoying equal privileges with their fellow men . . . while they remain in this State; it is therefore the united judgment of this meeting that they [Negroes] must be removed to another government."⁴³

The slaves' decision of whether to move and the Society's arrangements for financial backing were only two aspects indicative of the enormous complexity of the problems of removal and colonization. That it was not an easy decision for the Negroes to make is evident in the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings which stated: ". . . they [agents] have consulted them respecting their willingness to remove to another government, the result of which is that there appears to be a disposition in some to go to Africa, others to Pennsylvania and Indiana. . . ." Another reference noted that most would be willing "to go across the Ohio, if their families could go too, but not otherwise."⁴⁴

The cost of removing the Negroes to free governments was considerable, with the brunt of the expense borne by the Yearly Meeting treasury. For example, in 1827 the Meeting for Sufferings proposed that \$2,000.00 be raised by its members to assist in these removals, and the plan was readily approved. Moreover, as soon as the North Carolina project became known, financial aid was forthcoming from both out-of-state meetings and individual Quakers. Letters from Meetings for Sufferings in other states requesting information on the situation of the people of color under Friends' care in North Carolina were usually followed by substantial contributions to the cause. In 1827 alone, the Meeting for Sufferings reported a \$3,000.00 donation from the Philadelphia Meeting, \$1,000.00 from the Rhode Island Friends as well as assistance from New York and Ohio. Quakers in England that year also contributed generously, with the London Society sending \$1,105.00. The year 1826 was the apogee of the Friends' emigration program, culmi-

nating in the launching of their expedition to Haiti, conveying 119 blacks. The Greensborough *Patriot* of June 7, 1826, reporting on the manumission and colonization efforts of the Guilford County Friends, noted that 120 were going to Haiti, 316 to Liberia, and 100 to the non-slave-holding states of Ohio and Indiana. Eleven had already gone to Africa, forty-seven to Liberia and sixty-four to Ohio.⁴⁶

As the decade neared its end, the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings for 1828 indicated that Friends had indeed turned the corner on their emigration program, having removed 543 people of color, but from this point on, it would become increasingly difficult to resettle in free states the 501 Negroes who remained under Friends' care. Evidence that this might be the case can be found in several letters from Friends in northern states informing the Meeting for Sufferings that "there is little opening here for your coloured people."⁴⁷ In a similar vein, an article reprinted from a Richmond, Indiana paper, reporting on free blacks arriving at the instigation of the North Carolina Society of Friends, expressed the hope "that the Negroes will either be retained there [North Carolina] or transported to Hayti or Africa."⁴⁸

Although the Quakers were occupied during the 1820's with the colonization of slaves held in their trust, this did not preclude antislavery activities in other areas during this time. Unlike many antislavery advocates, Friends were genuinely concerned about the harsh conditions of slavery. Very early they declared a commitment to work for the betterment of the slaves' situation, and by 1810 the Deep River Monthly Meeting was exhorting its members to instruct people of color in reading the Scriptures and in useful employment in life.⁴⁹ Concern for the religious and literary education of the black people under their care appeared in the Yearly Meeting Minutes for 1816 which stressed the need to qualify them to become useful members both of civil and religious society.⁵⁰

Another area in which the Quakers tried to mitigate the condition of these "degraded and unfortunate people of colour" concerned the "sacred and inviolable marriage covenant." In a memorial presented to the United States Congress in 1823, Friends protested the fact that "the master is tolerated by the law of the land to break this most solemn contract, by separating husbands and wives." Pointing to the fact that the traffic in human flesh resulted

not only in the separation of spouses but also parents and children, "who are often torn asunder without the hope of ever seeing each other again," Friends spotlighted the cruelties inherent in the institution. Consistent with the view of slavery as both an individual and a collective sin, the petition asked for measures to ameliorate the conditions at least of those in the District of Columbia "so that not only a humane example may be set . . . , but the stain in some measure be wiped away from our national character."⁵¹ Such were the concerns and activities of the Quakers of Guilford County as the decade of the 1820's came to a close.

In the 1830's, however, a change of mood became apparent in the attitude of the South to slavery. The Nat Turner rebellion of August, 1831, has been a frequently cited cause for this change in tone among Southerners toward the "peculiar" institution. Regardless of the reason for the change, the message the Governor of North Carolina delivered to the General Assembly in November, 1831, reflected this increasingly fearful yet belligerent attitude. Referring to "crimes committed in a late insurrection in an adjoining state," the governor recommended "guarding against these evils" by establishing more efficient police and equipping more companies of volunteers, rather than more restrictive laws which had not produced the desired effect. However, the flurry of bills concerning both slaves and free Negroes introduced in early 1832 in the legislature suggests that the lawmakers were not inclined to heed the Governor's advice. Bills for the better regulation of the conduct of free Negroes and slaves, "to prevent Negroes, bond or free, from preaching," and to impose a penalty against anyone allowing Negroes to assemble were among those considered by the legislators.⁵²

An article in the Greensborough *Patriot* of June 13, 1832, noted how dangerous it had become to write, think, or speak on the subject of slavery and concluded that the writer would leave such activities to the Quakers.⁵³ William Swain, editor of the *Patriot*, commenting on the new restrictive North Carolina laws, charged that it is "almost an indictable offense to dream on the subject of slavery, much less write or speak on so 'delicate' a subject."⁵⁴

Indeed, this changing climate of opinion in the South toward the issue of slavery seems to have been communicated as well to Friends in England for the letter from the 1832 London Yearly

Meeting contained no direct reference to slavery but instead cautioned "all our dear Friends to be very careful that they do not, by involving themselves in political questions, endanger their religious welfare. . . ." ⁵⁵

In general, however, the tension over slavery in the Southern states in the early years of the 1830's did not seem to induce caution on the part of the Guilford County Quakers. Rather than curtailing their antislavery activity, the Society of Friends, a scant three months after Nat Turner's Rebellion, adopted a proposal to petition the North Carolina legislature again concerning the "propriety of adopting some general measures for removing the free people of color in this state to the colony of Liberia." ⁵⁶ Then too, with the General Assembly's passage of a bill in late 1830 to prevent all persons from teaching slaves to read or write, the issue of the education of the slaves once again was a vital Quaker concern. Friends "were brought under exercise on account of the oppressive laws of this State" prohibiting literary instruction of slaves. ⁵⁷ Once again, Quaker action took the form of a petition to the general Assembly in 1834 to redress this grievance by repealing the laws prohibiting literary instruction. The Yearly Meeting, reporting that the memorial was presented, also noted that it "did not succeed in obtaining the object." ⁵⁸

Whether the Quaker concern with the establishment of a boarding school for the Christian and literary education of their children was prompted by the seemingly further entrenchment of slavery is open to question. Yet, the timing of the proposal in late 1831 and subsequent reactions from the *Friends' Review*, a national Quaker publication, appear to support such a conclusion. The wording of the proposal which states that our children's education is "of very deep interest if not paramount importance in supporting various testimonies that we bear to the world . . . , " ⁵⁹ while perhaps only an expression of concern for preserving the Quaker way of life, could also imply the need to school their offspring in an awareness of social evils, the institution of slavery heading the list. The *Friends' Review*, commenting on the establishment of the North Carolina school said, "Our Friends of North Carolina have a heavy burden to bear, and many toils and perplexities to encounter in consequence of the system of slavery which surrounds them." In a further comment, the *Review* agreed that "the difficulties attendant on the education

of youth in that country, surrounded as Friends unavoidably are by the blighting effects of slavery, entitles them to the sympathy of their brethren who are more happily situated.”⁶⁰ Still later, this quote appeared in the magazine: “residing as they do, on a soil exhausted by servile cultivation, and trammelled by the provisions of a slaveholding legislature, the obstacles to be surmounted in the education of their children are not readily appreciated by those at a distance.”⁶¹

In any event, whether the Guilford County Quakers, by establishing their own school, were seeking to insulate their children from slavery’s evil effects or to arm their progeny to carry the antislavery banner is not the critical issue; for in either case, this writer believes that the proposal reflected increasing alarm about slavery and a more than ever firm commitment to battle the forces of evil.

Once again the issue of colonization of people of color was “weightily revived,” this time in 1833 when the Quakers became convinced of the intransigent attitude of the North Carolina legislature regarding the rights of Negroes, bond or free. “After solid deliberation,” four Quakers were appointed to convince people of color of the “danger that they and their offspring are in of being reduced to slavery except they go. . . .”⁶² In November, 1835, further proof of the official attitude of the state toward the slavery issue was contained in Governor David L. Swain’s assertion to the General Assembly that “public safety imperiously requires the suppression of incendiary newspapers and wicked and mischievous publication” and his calling for the cooperation of “the legislatures of the states from which these missiles proceed.”⁶³ Subsequently, the Quakers, alarmed by this attitude, again discussed in the 1835 Meeting for Sufferings, the removal of the colored people “out of harm’s way.”⁶⁴

Again, it was decided to present a memorial to the 1837 United States Congress concerning two earlier requests; the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and assistance in removing emigrants to Liberia. However, this time a new issue worried the Quakers—the possible annexation of Texas; therefore, this latest petition contained an expression of opposition to such action.⁶⁵

But it was not until late 1838 that the Quakers reached the apex of their antislavery development and moved from a gradualist

mentality to abolitionism. No entry in any of the Quaker minutes gives any indication of the bombshell about to be dropped on the North Carolina legislators, nor indeed, of the subsequent furor that erupted in the press as a result of this new stance.

The Memorial on Slavery, approved by the Yearly Meeting, was presented to the North Carolina General Assembly by Mr. James T. Morehead, the Whig Senator from Guilford County, a few days before the legislative session adjourned in January, 1839.⁶⁶ The petition denounced "the manifold evils arising from this institution," demanded "a remedy that has for its object the extinction of this evil in our beloved State," pictured a state of decayed socioeconomic conditions, and warned of the day when the "injured sons of Africa whose claims to justice and humanity will plead 'trumpet tongued' their cause before the tribunal of an offended God." Among the evils that arose from slavery, the petition listed the loss of white free laborers and other effective population, lack of mechanical enterprise, barren fields, desolate houses, deserted towns, languishing trade, neglected agriculture, and decreasing public and private wealth. Subsequently, the Quakers envisioned some of the physical and political consequences from emancipation of this "down-trodden part of the human family" would be fertile fields, more people, greater national political strength, and the erection of manufacturing.

At this juncture in the document, assuming the institutional role of the church, the Friends stated that "humanity and Christianity demand an end to this system of iniquity" that separates families, and quoting from the Scriptures, reminded that "the God of the oppressed . . . delivered 2,500,000 of the children of Israel out of Egyptian bondage." The Quakers rested their case with a reiteration that some plan be devised "that has for its object the emancipation of this injured class of beings. . . ."⁶⁷

Reaction to the petition was immediate and adverse, provoking a partisan newspaper squabble of several months duration between the Greensborough *Patriot* and the Raleigh *Standard*. The editor of the Raleigh *Standard* in his remarks of January 9, 1839, headlined the Quaker proposal "Abolition in North Carolina" and charged "that Federal Whiggery in this State is opening the way to assist our abolition allies."⁶⁸ Two weeks later he called for the publication of this "Abolition Memorial" so that people can judge whether the

petition is harmless or "destructive to the safety of the South."⁶⁹ This article was followed on January 30, 1839, by the charge that "in our own legislature the dark form of abolition has shown itself."⁷⁰

By early February the Greensborough *Patriot*, with its tradition of antislavery leanings and support for the protection of Quaker rights, could no longer remain silent and proceeded to take the *Standard* to task for manifesting "a most special spite towards the good people of Guilford . . . believing as he does that abolitionists exist here in a body. . . ."⁷¹

The *Standard's* response was that if the agitation of the question of slavery were to be tolerated in the legislature, "All is Lost! Our peril lies in the beginning of this evil at home. When a member of the Senate of North Carolina presumes to offer a memorial to 'terminate slavery' . . . it is startling. It is an alarming symptom of the progress of the darkened counsels." But what the editor found still more shocking was the fact that this Senator had gone unrebuked.⁷²

The February 18th *Patriot*, in a two-column defense of the Quakers and their memorial, stated that the Friends, whose principal settlement was in Guilford County were a "peculiarly quiet, unobtrusive, orderly, and intelligent people" who while bearing continual testimony against slavery, were not abolitionists. As for the Senator who presented the petition, the *Patriot* stated, it was his "bounden duty to a respectable part of his constituency."⁷³

A week later the *Standard*, linking Quakerism, Whiggery, and abolitionism, asked, "Why are the Friends of Guilford opposed to Mr. Van Buren? Because their 'peculiarities' on the subject of abolition are frowned upon by that enlightened statesman and patriot."⁷⁴ By late March the *Patriot* refused further comment on the matter, but the *Standard* had not yet finished discussing the "folly" of the Quaker action. "If the defense of our firesides against the imprudence of the Friends' Society, . . . forfeits the support of the Quakers, let the party which will count their votes take them. The Act was offensive to the South."⁷⁵ Over a year later in February, 1840, the editor of the *Standard* resurrected the issue and inveighed against the authors of the Quaker memorial "who promulgated sentiments hostile to the nearest and dearest interests of the South."⁷⁶

It is more difficult to determine the legislators' reaction to this document, there being no mention of the matter in the legislative

journals for that session; however, the *Patriot* comment that "the partial excitement which it raised at the time is already known of," was most likely an understatement.⁷⁷ It is both interesting and regrettable that the various meeting minutes also fail to record the reaction aroused by their petition, but the omission is not altogether surprising as entries were often stereotyped and coldly factual without any elaboration as to the reasons behind the entries.

In arriving at any conclusions concerning the Quakers' proclivity to abolitionism, one must lean for proof quite heavily, and appropriately so, on the contents of the slavery petition. Like many abolitionists, the Friends in their document branded slaveholding as a heinous sin, likely to bring down the wrath of God. While in many ways, the latest Quaker proposal might be viewed as simply a shift in strategy caused by the failure of less direct plans of eradication, this writer believes it represented the far more significant decision to no longer serve the interests of expediency. It is significant that this latest memorial was greeted with vehement denunciations, contrary to the previous receptions accorded the numerous petitions presented by Friends as far back as 1787. More significant, however, was the indication from Quakers of a willingness to consider abolition as the most viable means of resolving the slavery question, and what is more to state these intentions publicly.

Without a doubt, Friends were in the vanguard of the anti-slavery movement in North Carolina during the half century preceding the Civil War. Without a doubt, too, their position toward slavery hardened in the 1830's as the dominant Southern position became more irascible. This conclusion is at variance with some other writers who have contended that the North Carolina Friends lost their aggressive spirit in the fight against slavery after the attitude of the South had undergone a change. It is the opinion of this writer that the evidence on balance supports the contention that the North Carolina Quakers under the guidance of the Guilford County Friends achieved abolitionist status in the late 1830's, reluctant perhaps, but none the less bona fide. This conclusion seems all the more tenable when one considers the stigma attached to any Southern-inspired crusade against slavery by that time.

North Carolina Quakers: Bona Fide Abolitionists

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2. Samuel Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* (Baltimore, 1896), p. 224.
3. Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Goldsboro, 1905), XXIII, 203.
4. Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Friends in North Carolina, I, 148, Guilford College Quaker Room Collection, Greensboro, N. C., hereinafter referred to as NCYM Minutes.
5. Meeting for Sufferings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, *A Narrative of Some of the Proceedings of North Carolina on Subject of Slavery Within Its Limits* (Greensboro, 1848), p. 11, Guilford College Quaker Room Collection, hereinafter referred to as: Meeting for Sufferings, *Narrative*.
6. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 221.
7. Meeting for Sufferings, *Narrative, op. cit.*, p. 11.
8. NCYM Minutes, I, 153.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
10. *Discipline of Friends New Garden* (Greensborough, 1839), p. 23.
11. NCYM Minutes, I, 237.
12. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 964.
13. *Ibid.*, XXVI, 590.
14. NCYM Minutes, II, 31.
15. Bartholomew F. Moore and Asa Biggs, *Revised Codes of North Carolina* (Boston, 1855), p. 500.
16. P. M. Sherrill, "The Quakers and the North Carolina Manumission Society," *Historical Papers, Trinity College* (N. C.) *Historical Society*, Series X (1914), p. 33.
17. NCYM Minutes, Meeting for Sufferings, 1824-1859, p. 3.
18. New Garden Monthly Meeting Minutes, IV (September 30, 1809), Guilford College Quaker Room Collection.
19. Deep River Monthly Meeting Minutes, I, 20. Guilford College Quaker Room Collection.
20. *North Carolina Reports: Cases Argued and Determined in Supreme Court* of North Carolina (Raleigh, 1916), p. 443.
21. NCYM Minutes, II.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
25. Census for 1830, Fourth Census, Book I (Washington, 1821), p. 25.
26. Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin* (Cincinnati, 1880), p. 76.
27. Greensborough Patriot, January 6, 1827. Micro-film Collection, Greensboro, N. C. Public Library.
28. Letter from Franklin Woody to Brother N. D. Woody, April 5, 1852, Robert and Newton D. Woody Papers. Duke University Manuscript Department, Durham.

29. H. M. Wagstaff (ed.), "Minutes of the N. C. Manumission Society, 1816-1834," James Sprunt *Historical Studies*, Vol. 22, p. 14. Original manuscript minutes in Guilford College Quaker Room Collection.

30. Coffin, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

31. Wagstaff, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

34. Coffin, *op. cit.*, p. 113, 75, 76.

35. Wagstaff, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

36. NCYM *Minutes*, II, 157.

37. Wagstaff, *op. cit.*, 78.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

41. Greensborough *Patriot*, August 29, 1832.

42. Wagstaff, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

43. NCYM *Minutes*, Meeting for Sufferings, January 4, 1826.

44. *Ibid.*, April 11, 1825.

45. *Ibid.*, 1827.

46. Greensborough *Patriot*, June 7, 1826.

47. NCYM *Minutes*, Meeting for Sufferings, 1833.

48. Greensborough *Patriot*, September 6, 1826.

49. Deep River Monthly Meeting *Minutes*, I, 24.

50. NCYM *Minutes*, II, 148.

51. *Ibid.*, II, 208.

52. *Senate and House Journals*, 1831-32, p. 144.

53. Greensborough *Patriot*, June 13, 1832.

54. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1833.

55. *Ibid.*, September, 1832.

56. *Senate and House Journals*, 1831-32, p. 45.

57. NCYM *Minutes*, Meeting for Sufferings, p. 94.

58. NCYM *Minutes*, II, 146.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

60. Enoch Lewis, ed., *Friends Review* (Philadelphia, 1852), III: 153, 154. Guilford College Quaker Room Collection.

61. *Ibid.*, 231.

62. NCYM *Minutes*, Meeting for Sufferings, p. 84.

63. *Senate and House Journals*, 1835, p. 101.

64. NCYM *Minutes*, Meeting for Sufferings, 1835, p. 104.

65. *Ibid.*, 1837, p. 138.

66. *Raleigh Standard*, January 9, 1839. Micro-film Collection, University of North Carolina at Greensboro Library.

67. *Papers* for Meeting for Sufferings, 1830's-1840's. Guilford College Quaker Room Collection, Greensboro. In reviewing these Quaker Papers, the author found this document undated. Its contents are believed to be the same or very similar to the one presented in the 1838-39 N. C. legislative session.

North Carolina Quakers: Bona Fide Abolitionists

- 68, Raleigh *Standard*, January 9, 1839.
- 69. *Standard*, January 23, 1839.
- 70. *Standard*, January 30, 1839.
- 71. Greensborough *Patriot*, February 4, 1839.
- 72. *Standard*, February 6, 1839.
- 73. *Patriot*, February 18, 1839.
- 74. *Standard*, February 25, 1839.
- 75. *Standard*, March 20, 1839.
- 76. *Standard*, February 19, 1840.
- 77. *Patriot*, February 18, 1839.

The Blue Ridge Mission

BY

Martha Lou Chilton

By the year 1885, the North Carolina Yearly Meeting had become concerned about the need for spiritual and educational work among persons outside the Society. David E. Sampson shared this concern and saw an opportunity to serve the people of the Blue Ridge Mountains.¹

David Ebenezer Sampson was born at Nailsworth, England, on December 2, 1845. David grew up in Stroud, England where, as a school boy, he was converted to Christianity. At the age of twenty-six, he came with his wife Emma and their child to the United States and settled near New Garden in Guilford County. A few years later, he joined the Society of Friends. Sampson established a Sabbath School in his own home, and later he felt the call of the Lord to labor in the mountains of North Carolina. He and his family resided for several years at Westfield in Surry County where he traveled on horseback over many miles and rough roads to hold meetings in school houses or other churches. His undying fight against liquor often made bitter enemies for him in this liquor-making area. Sampson worked at different times in the Baltimore and California Yearly Meetings, and he was the founder of meetings in Graham and Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Sarah C. Marshburn Sampson, whom he married after the death of his first wife, was an important factor in the labors of the last eleven years of his life. On July 19, 1916,² at his home in Winston-Salem, David Sampson died in the midst of his work as he had often prayed he would.³

On October 10, 1885, at Deep River Quarterly Meeting, David E. Sampson presented his concern to establish a mission in the Blue Ridge section. The Meeting granted his request and began to set up the framework of the Blue Ridge Mission by appointing a mission committee. Many of the people appointed had already been very active in the Yearly Meeting. The committee was as follows: Thomas Anderson, David Hedgecock, E. E. Mendenhall, E. A.

Blair, F. G. Cartland, M. A. Moffitt, J. E. Cox, David E. Sampson, Elizabeth Winslow, Mary E. Nail, R. J. Celty, Anna F. Tomlinson, Lue V. Tomlinson, Leanna Wilborne, Margaret Jones, Ellen Hammond, Mattie Reynolds, Harriet Moffitt, and Elinor Henley. At its first meeting, the committee expressed so much interest in the mission that it decided to begin work at once, and, to hasten this beginning, each member agreed to contribute \$1.81. At this same meeting, the committee decided to establish a permanent organization governed by a constitution and by-laws.⁴

Constitution of Blue Ridge Mission

This Organization shall be known as the Blue Ridge Mission, composed of those appointed by the Quarterly Meeting and all who may join the society—Membership fees, fifty-cents (.50) for males, .25 for females.

Object

To keep some one constantly engaged in Christian work in the Blue Ridge Section if means can be procured to do so.

By-Laws

This organization shall hold a meeting every three months and report to each Deep River Quarterly Meeting requesting them to make a general report to the yearly meeting. There shall be a president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer who shall constitute an executive committee with the addition of three others, selected by the organization.

The President shall preside at all meetings when present. In his absence the Vice-president will act as Chairman. In the absence of both, the Chairman shall be selected *pro tem* by the committee. The Secretary shall keep a record of all meetings subject to the inspection of the members of the organization at any time. The Treasurer shall receive all money collected by the society and use the same by direction of a majority of committee signed by Treasurer and Secretary giving a written report at each meeting stating amount received and paid out. Said report to be recorded in the minutes.⁵

The committee elected the following officers: Jonathan E. Cox, President; Leanna Wilborne, Vice-president; Lue V. Tomlinson, Secretary, and Louisa Frazier, Treasurer. Committee: Thomas Anderson, Anna F. Tomlinson, Fernando Cartland, and David E. Sampson, General Superintendent.⁶

The first mission worker to be chosen by the committee was

Thomas Inman. He was a pious young man who had already been doing religious work in this section, and David E. Sampson was well acquainted with his work and recommended him to the committee. When he met with the committee, young Inman told them that he had been praying that a way might be opened for him to devote his entire time to this work. The committee decided to give as much financial aid as lay in their power to support the labors of Thomas Inman, and they encouraged him to do the work as the Lord might show him and to make reports of his progress to the members of the committee and to Deep River Quarterly Meeting.⁷

At the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1887, the Blue Ridge Committee made its first progress report:

The Blue Ridge Mission embraces a tract of country among the mountains, comprising the counties of Stokes and Surry, in North Carolina, and Patrick and Carroll, in Virginia, and was established by Deep River Quarterly Meeting, and is under the care of and supported by the same. One of its members, a young man, feeling called of the Lord, has for more than two years given most of his time to service for the Master in this interesting field enduring for His sake, hardship, exposure and privation among a people that are poor as to the world's wealth, and yet not possessing the riches of Christ, having the lot of their inheritance among the hills where the country is so sterile that the common necessities of life are procured with great labor and difficulty and luxuries are almost unknown.

But little opportunity for education has ever been afforded them and consequently many cannot read, and very many seldom or never get to a place of religious worship.⁸

In order for the Blue Ridge Mission to operate successfully, it needed to have financial assistance. Once the mission came under the care of the Yearly Meeting, the budget made provision for its support, and in the beginning allotted \$200. In later years, the amount gradually decreased until finally no item for the Blue Ridge Mission appeared in the budget. In the same year the Yearly Meeting placed a sum for the mission in the budget, it also took a special collection for its aid.

However, most of the money contributed to the mission came as the result of David Sampson's trips to other states, requesting help for the mission. Sampson first approached the New York Yearly Meeting in 1887, presenting the needs of the mission and asking for

the support of the Yearly Meeting. The Yearly Meeting agreed to support a worker in that area if a suitable person could be found.⁹

In early May of 1888, David Sampson traveled north to Philadelphia and received four hundred dollars from some Friends there.¹⁰ With this money, the Blue Ridge Committee began its plans for a meeting house and school house.¹¹ David Sampson, throughout the many years which he worked with the Blue Ridge Mission, continued to make these trips to other states. Both New York Yearly Meeting and New York Missionary Board of Friends continued their support of the mission. Later he visited Baltimore, New England, Ohio, and Iowa Yearly Meetings.¹²

As long as the mission showed signs of prospering, Friends in North Carolina and elsewhere offered funds as well as other gifts to help in its development. J. Van Lindley gave flowers and shrubs to give the mission a pleasant appearance,¹³ and Joshua L. Bailly presented the school with some seventy-five books, tracts, and pamphlets for its library.¹⁴

In August of 1888, in its second annual report to North Carolina Yearly Meeting, the Blue Ridge Committee reported on the educational needs of the Blue Ridge Section. Believing it necessary to establish a school for this area, the Blue Ridge Committee, using the donations from Philadelphia,¹⁵ purchased a tract of land in Patrick County, Virginia. At the close of Yearly Meeting, the Blue Ridge Committee met and was reorganized as the Blue Ridge Mission School Committee. The officers appointed were Jonathan E. Cox, Chairman; David E. Sampson, General Superintendent; Lue Tomlinson, Secretary; and J. Elwood Cox, Treasurer.¹⁶

The building that was on the Blue Ridge property was remodeled for school and meeting purposes. The first school year opened in September of 1888 and lasted for seven months.¹⁷ The two teachers, Sallie Marshburn and Mary Anderson,¹⁸ were influential in the community for they were good teachers and devout Christians.¹⁹

In 1889 the Blue Ridge Committee purchased twenty-seven acres adjoining the Blue Ridge Mission property for one hundred dollars.²⁰ During the latter months of that same year, the committee began construction of a mission cottage which cost a total of \$382.²¹ Work continued on the cottage for two years, and it was completed in 1891.²² The committee found a matron to manage the

six room cottage which served as a home for the teachers and for students who lived too far away to get to school each day.²³ The Blue Ridge Committee realized that more student accommodations were needed, and in December, 1890, when the opportunity arose to purchase a lot of one acre adjoining the mission property,²⁴ the committee made a partial payment and agreed to pay the rest of the purchase price of \$110 when the deed was ready.²⁵ A partially erected building was already on the property, and when it was completed, the Blue Ridge Mission had a long narrow building (40 feet by 16 feet) with a wing extending toward the rear. The committee decided to appoint a qualified person to take charge of this new home for students and to serve as an evangelist.²⁶

Not only was work being done on the new property, but improvements were also made on the land first purchased as two and one-half acres of land were cleared for cultivation, a barn was built, and a fence was built around the cottage and school house. The committee felt that the plank fence in front of each building added greatly to the attractiveness of the mission.²⁷

Because of the growing need of better accommodations for the school and meeting, David Sampson had a great desire to build a combined school and meeting house.²⁸ In September of 1893, the committee appropriated funds for this purpose and the work began.²⁹ The project was accomplished by adding wings to the old building. The building, shaped like a cross, 58 feet long and 56 feet across the wings, could be partitioned into five rooms or opened into an auditorium. The total cost of remodeling was \$650. David Sampson attributed this accomplishment to the goodness of God and the kindness of English Friends who had made contributions³⁰ when he had revisited his native land in 1893.³¹ In addition to the remodeling, sheds were built on two sides of the barn, and three more acres of land were cleared for cultivation.³²

Following these years of rapid development in the building program of the Blue Ridge Mission School, improvements came to a standstill. In the Yearly Meeting report of 1896, the committee reported that the mission property was in better condition than ever before. The school building and boarding house had been painted, and the fence and other buildings had been whitewashed.

By 1904 repairs were needed and in 1905 a larger kitchen was built in the Cottage Home since a greater number of students was

expected for the coming year, but due to the lack of funds, many of the necessary repairs had not been made.³³

More additions and repairs were made to the school house in 1906, providing two school rooms and a recitation room which cost \$150.³⁴ The school rooms which seated sixty pupils each were painted inside as well as outside, and according to a committee report, were furnished with blackboards and patent desks. The recitation room was a fourteen feet square.³⁵

Early in April of 1911, the home and most of its contents burned to the ground. The Blue Ridge Committee took immediate action to rebuild the home which had been insured, and by August of that year, the structure was half completed.³⁶ One year later four rooms, including the kitchen, were completed on the first floor, leaving one room on the first floor and four rooms on the second floor still unfinished. The appeal sent out to all North Carolina Quarterly Meetings from the Blue Ridge Committee, asking for donations of household articles and furniture, was answered, and three rooms and the kitchen were amply furnished.³⁷ During the years of 1912-1913, the remainder of the house was completed and partially furnished.³⁸

Personnel problems as well as financial problems plagued the Blue Ridge Mission School. Each year generally brought a change in teachers, and an even greater problem existed in keeping missionary workers in the field. When the mission school was first established, there were two teachers to carry on the work. These women did excellent work in the classroom and also were dedicated to the work of the First Day School.³⁹ Both the First Day School and prayer meetings were held regularly. At the revivals which were held at the beginning and end of each school term, several persons were converted, and some became members of the Society of Friends.⁴⁰

J. Allen Johnson joined Thomas Inman in the mission field in 1888.⁴¹ The continued support offered by the New York Missionary Board aided him in his work. Three years later two other workers were doing mission work, but the requirements of maintaining their farms prevented them from doing as much Gospel work as they wished to do. These workers held a series of meetings during the year which often led to the conversion of a number of persons, including some of the liquor sellers in the area.⁴²

In 1892 J. Allen Johnson decided to leave the Blue Ridge Section and begin work elsewhere. The committee, feeling the need of devoted workers in visiting from house to house,⁴³ brought L. Simeon Mixon, a recorded Friends minister from Goldsboro, to take up the work which Johnson had been doing.⁴⁴ Mixon joined Crawford T. Thompson and A. F. King in the field of labor.⁴⁵

Thomas Inman and the other workers who followed him in the mission work carried on their work in various ways. These men, as was reported to the Blue Ridge Committee, visited families, persons who were ill, and those in prison or the poor house, as well. They held regular meetings, prayer meetings, and Bible readings and distributed hundreds of religious papers and tracts. They also encouraged the reading of the Bible, selling Bibles when they could and giving them to persons who could not afford to buy them and to those whom they hoped would learn to read them.⁴⁶

First Day Meetings and prayer meetings were held each week. In March, 1894, a Preparative Meeting was set up by the White Plains Monthly Meeting,⁴⁷ and in 1898 the Preparative Meeting came under the care of Mount Airy Monthly Meeting.⁴⁸ The membership gradually increased, and even though its members were widely scattered, attendance at business meetings was fair and interest was strong.⁴⁹ Those who attended the meetings often traveled long distances over bad roads, and in this mountainous country bad weather frequently prevented the mountaineers from getting to meeting.⁵⁰

Samuel Pickett, who became principal of the school in 1899, worked faithfully to increase interest in the Sabbath School, and two years after his coming to the mission, he reported that the attendance at Sabbath School had tripled; however, few of the parents came since they thought of any school as being for children.⁵¹ On Sunday ministers and workers from Mount Airy and other North Carolina meetings often visited the Blue Ridge Meeting.⁵²

After the report of the Picketts in 1902, attendance began to decline. By 1910 denominational interest among the Blue Ridge people began to subside. Union services, in which the mission sometimes participated, contributed toward this decline.⁵³ Participation and interest increased in 1911 when a Monthly Meeting was established,⁵⁴ and the Sabbath School maintained its reputation of

being the best in the country and was about the only one which managed to meet each week. Soon the Meeting once again began to lag because there was no regular pastor,⁵⁵ and there was a split among the people concerning the Meeting.⁵⁶ In 1919 the Blue Ridge Monthly Meeting ceased to exist.⁵⁷

The progress of the laborers in the field depended entirely on ways opening for this work which often suffered because of financial need. Meetings were held in school houses on the side of the mountain, and evangelists were brought in to hold revival meetings. One young man from the Blue Ridge Section attended a training school in Cleveland, Ohio, and then returned home to establish a place for a meeting and a school house.⁵⁸ In that year, 1898, Deep River Quarterly Meeting recorded Crawford Thompson, the first mission convert, as a minister.⁵⁹ Lack of both money and workers crippled the missionary program, but enough work was done to have a great influence on the community.

The mission was quite successful in two of its spiritual projects in the community. From its very beginning, the mission stressed the importance of temperance work in the area. The mission workers formed a Temperance Society which improved the atmosphere of the community.⁶⁰ In 1892 New England Friends donated a fruit evaporator to the mission so that the mission workers could show the fruit growers of the Blue Ridge region a better and more profitable method of disposing of their product instead of selling it to a distiller.⁶¹ As the years passed by, interest in temperance began to die, but enough work had been done to revive this interest when it became necessary. One of these necessary times was reported by the committee in its Yearly Meeting report of 1905.

One of the striking features of the year has been the revival in our temperance work. Being annoyed by drinking in the public road in front of the school building, by a crowd who had gathered at the closing of the school, a special effort was at once begun to close the distillery a few miles distant which was causing the trouble, and through the indefatigable labors of Miles Reece, assisted by many of the residents of the locality, who went to the county seat, and were successful in laying such complaints before the judge, which enabled him to refuse to grant license to this distillery, and also to two others still farther away. Our friend has since kept a vigilant watch over the court to see that no other application for license shall be granted to anyone in our territory, and has already

succeeded in preventing several applications from being granted.

By 1907 only one licensed distiller operated in the western part of the county, and he closed when his application for a license renewal was turned down.⁶² There were very few cases of public drunkenness, and no distillery or bar room existed within ten miles of the mission.⁶³

Another successful project of the mission was its Biblical Institute, which held its first session from July 23 through August 2 of 1894. Each morning for three hours, the teachers, one of them being Professor J. Woody, discussed with students different topics which related to the Scriptures. The following summers the attendance increased, and the program expanded to include a children's meeting, young people's meeting, and a Gospel meeting. Several young people attended the sessions. The workers at the mission believed that the Institute "deepened the interest and demonstrated the value of systematic teaching on the Scriptures."⁶⁴

The Blue Ridge Mission School developed as the most successful and influential part of the mission despite its continual changing of school personnel. During the first school term, 1888-1889, at the Blue Ridge Mission, the committee hired two young female teachers to run the school.⁶⁵ The Cottage Home which housed teachers and students was built the following year, and the committee hired a head matron to care for the Cottage. The teachers attempted to give equal attention to all of the students, and the results were so gratifying that the school soon became the largest one in Patrick County.⁶⁶

At a meeting of the Blue Ridge Mission School Committee in July of 1890, David Sampson proposed that a new department be added to the school.

Aid for Orphans and the Disabled

The children of widows, and other children of either sex who are, by accident, sickness or otherwise, disabled from ordinary occupations, and yet are of clear mind and sufficient strength to study and perform the duties required of them, often subject to mistreatment and abuse, will be taken in to the extent of our accommodations, and boarded and instructed, for the sum of \$7.50 for each child per month. These will be taught in the school a part of the day, and, allowing for suitable recreation, will be instructed in such industrial occupation about the home as

their strength and capacities may admit of.⁶⁷

The committee accepted the proposal, and the school prepared to care for these children.

The children soon began to show the influence of this teaching; they became more attentive and showed an increasing interest in their work. In the second month of 1891, because of an increase in the number of classes, an additional primary teacher, Mary Anderson, joined the staff.⁶⁸ This prosperity was reported to the Yearly Meeting in these words:

The work during the past year has been more systematic and more effective than during any former period, and those who have been students in the school are manifestly exerting an influence on those with whom they come in contact, so that in the surrounding country there is more interest in the work of the church and in education.⁶⁹

The committee believed it would be more agreeable to the mission if they could find a man and his wife to take care of the home and its property. Lewis N. and Susan B. Hoge accepted the position in May, 1892.⁷⁰ Unfortunately for the committee, this was the beginning of many problems. The Hoges found it difficult to comply with the requests of the committee, and eventually the committee wrote a letter to the Hoges asking them to resign,⁷¹ but they refused. At this time David E. Sampson was in England, so the committee appointed an assistant superintendent to handle this affair.⁷² The person whom they selected was Jonathan Cox, and he lived at the mission for several weeks attempting to bring order into its affairs and to convince the Hoges that they should comply with the committee's decision. The committee meanwhile continued corresponding with the Hoges and had interviews with them, but L. N. Hoge still refused to leave. The committee informed Hoge that they would not allow him to keep boarders in the mission and would cut off his supplies. At last, the committee sought legal advice from Judge John H. Dillard of Greensboro, who assured the committee of its rights. Hoge finally accepted the money which the committee offered him for his services and left the mission.⁷³

William M. and Julia Outland replaced the Hoges, and the committee offered them a contract clearly stating the conditions under which they assumed the direction of the school.⁷⁴ The Outlands accepted their charge and quite satisfactorily pleased the

committee.⁷⁵ However, the committee found it necessary to consolidate the school and the home, so they asked the Outlands to end their stay at the mission on June 30, 1895. J. Addison and Emma Griffiths of Friendsville, Tennessee headed the consolidated school and home.⁷⁶

The enrollment of the school dropped in 1895 because a new public school opened near the mission. In that same year the school was able to boast that several of its young people had passed the public school examination and were teaching in North Carolina and Virginia.⁷⁷ By 1897 the school reported sixteen of its young people were teachers, and others were preparing themselves for medical and law professions. Some of the mountain boys, aided by scholarships, became students at Guilford College.⁷⁸ Indeed the school was influential in the community, and the committee reported this great change in their report to the Yearly Meeting in 1897.

Four members of the Committee beside the Superintendent have visited the school during the year, and their report of the school, and the remarkable improvement of the community in intelligence and morality, have been very satisfactory. On visiting this section where a few years since were no schools, no signs of progress, dilapidated homes, no religious interest, and intemperance generally prevalent, we now find a progressive community, good homes, a general intelligence among the young people, good behavior, a strong temperance sentiment, and above all, a moral and religious tone, equal to most communities even within our former limits.⁷⁹

The mission school offered a broad curriculum including music, algebra, literature, composition, general history, physical geography, zoology, botany, Latin, bookkeeping, and, in addition, the common school branches. At the end of the regular school year, the mission offered instruction in Normal work to those who desired to teach.⁸⁰ The library at the school was growing and often received gifts of books from Friends; by 1901 it contained 1,100 volumes. Many of these books were loaned to the mountain people who returned them promptly and in good condition.⁸¹

The Yearly Meeting report of 1903 contained a brief summary of the mission school accomplishments. One hundred months of school had been taught and 1,826 children had been enrolled.

More than twenty students had taught school, fourteen were business men, and two were doctors. A good number had entered into Christian work and a few had become ministers.⁸² By 1909 fifty-three of the mission students were teaching and six were preaching.⁸³

Early in the development of the Blue Ridge Mission School, David Sampson had approached the county school superintendent to ask for school funds for the mission. The county granted the funds as long as the school complied with state requirements.⁸⁴ During the school year of 1909-1910, the county paid for five out of six months of school at the mission, also supplying equipment such as wood, dippers, buckets, and chalk and making some repairs on the school house.⁸⁵ Attendance decreased the next year because the mission school operated as a pay school, independent of county funds.⁸⁶ The name of the school was then changed to Blue Ridge Academy. The instructors made the work at the academy harder and added a ninth grade, equivalent to the second year of high school.⁸⁷

The work of the Blue Ridge Academy continued, but the early enthusiasm was waning. The committee reported the school year of 1914-1915 as being less than successful, and stated that if the attitude and conditions of the school could not be altered, it would not be worthy of the efforts of the Yearly Meeting and the committee. The committee, therefore, proposed that the Blue Ridge Academy be placed under the care of Surry Quarterly Meeting.⁸⁸

No school was planned in 1915-1916 because Surry Quarter did not appoint a committee soon enough to make plans for school work. Thereafter, the building was rented to the county, and it furnished the teachers.⁸⁹

Joseph M. Purdie arranged with the Blue Ridge Committee and the County School Board to take over the school in 1916. He also did pastoral work for the meeting, and the committee allowed him to have the home and the farm and the money which came from the Blue Ridge Academy funds in return for his services. In the committee's last report on the Blue Ridge School, harmonious cooperation between county officials and the committee prevailed, and the progress of the school was excellent. The average attendance had been the best in the district.⁹⁰

In 1918 the Permanent Board of North Carolin Yearly Meeting

met in Greensboro and made arrangements to sell the Blue Ridge property to parties representing the Presbyterian Church. Work at the academy under the care of Friends had ceased being successful. The Presbyterian Church paid \$3000 for the property, making a down payment of \$250.⁹¹ Legal negotiations were not completed until 1922. The board directed that \$2000 of the payment be set up as a trust fund. The interest of the trust fund would be turned over to the Evangelistic Committee to be used as it saw fit.⁹² The remainder of the payment was designated as Building Funds under the direction of the Evangelistic and Church Executive Committee of the Yearly Meeting.⁹³

In 1899, the Blue Ridge Committee purchased a tract of land in Augusta, Davie County, North Carolina for \$521 and established Friends' Academy. A building on the property was used as a school and a home for teachers, a matron, and girls. In the beginning the workers at Augusta maintained a good Sabbath school, a large Temperance Society, and monthly meetings along with the school. However, the school closed in 1906, and the other work did not last much longer.⁹⁴ The committee decided to sell the property and build a meetinghouse in a central location.⁹⁵

The Blue Ridge Mission School and its workers did influence the people of the Blue Ridge Section greatly, but the mission never became a secure or stable institution. The committee often had to function with members who were not willing to really work to support it. Without the efforts of David Sampson, the mission would probably have been closed before it finally did. Sampson asked to be relieved of his duties in 1897,⁹⁶ but at the request of the committee, he remained for several more years.

There were only a few years in which the mission could report no financial problems. It was difficult for the committee to get funds to support the mission, especially when the mission work appeared to be declining. The North Carolina Yearly Meeting eventually dropped the mission from its budget, and the Virginia Department of Public Instruction would often fail to pay the mission the funds that it had promised to the school. The salaries of the teachers and field laborers were low and often came late; therefore, it was not easy to keep a permanent staff. Public schools grew up in the same area as the mission, and other churches

established missions. Lack of students, money, and workers brought an end to the Blue Ridge Mission.

1. Minutes of the Blue Ridge Mission Committee, October 17, 1885, High Point North Carolina, hereinafter cited as *BRMC Minutes*.

2. The year of David Sampson's death is not listed, but his second marriage which took place in 1905 lasted eleven years.

3. Memorials of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Quaker Collection Guilford College, Greensboro.

4. *BRMC Minutes*, October 17, 1885.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. Minutes of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, August 11-16, 1887, High Point, hereinafter cited as *NCYM Minutes*.

9. *BRMC Minutes*, June 6, 1887.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *NCYM Minutes*, August 9-14, 1888.

12. *BRMC Minutes*, July 4, 1891.

13. *NCYM Minutes*, August 8-14, 1894.

14. *Ibid.*, August 3-8, 1910.

15. *Ibid.*, August 9-14, 1888.

16. *BRMC Minutes*, April 21, 1888.

17. *NCYM Minutes*, August 8-13, 1889.

18. *BRMC Minutes*, April 21, 1888.

19. *NCYM Minutes*, August 8-13, 1889.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *BRMC Minutes*, January 11, 1890.

22. *NCYM Minutes*, August 5-11, 1891.

23. *Ibid.*, August 6-12, 1890.

24. *Ibid.*, August 5-11, 1891.

25. *BRMC Minutes*, December 8, 1890.

26. *NCYM Minutes*, August 5-11, 1891.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*, August 8-14, 1894.

29. *BRMC Minutes*, September 6, 1893.

30. *NCYM Minutes*, August 8-14, 1894.

31. *Ibid.*, August 8-15, 1893.

32. *Ibid.*, August 8-14, 1904.

33. *Ibid.*, August 9-14, 1905.

34. *Ibid.*, August 8-13, 1906.

35. *Ibid.*, August 7-12, 1907.

36. *Ibid.*, August 9-14, 1911.

37. *Ibid.*, August 7-12, 1912.

38. *Ibid.*, August 6-11, 1913.

39. *Ibid.*, August 8-13, 1889.
40. *Ibid.*, August 6-12, 1890.
41. BRMC *Minutes*, April 21, 1888.
42. NCYM *Minutes*, August 5-11, 1891.
43. *Ibid.*, August 10-16, 1892.
44. BRMC *Minutes*, March 28, 1892.
45. NCYM *Minutes*, August 9-15, 1893.
46. BRMC *Minutes*, April 17, 1886 and October 16, 1886.
47. NCYM *Minutes*, August 8-14, 1894.
48. *Ibid.*, August 10-16, 1898. No reason was given for the change from White Plains to Mount Airy.
49. *Ibid.*, August 7-13, 1895.
50. *Ibid.*, August 5-10, 1896.
51. *Ibid.*, August 6-11, 1902.
52. *Ibid.*, August 9-14, 1905.
53. *Ibid.*, August 3-8, 1910.
54. *Ibid.*, August 9-14, 1911.
55. *Ibid.*, August 6-10, 1914.
56. Neither the *Minutes* of the Blue Ridge Mission committee nor the North Carolina Yearly Meeting gave a reason for this split.
57. *Ibid.*, August 7-12, 1919.
58. *Ibid.*, August 10-16, 1898.
59. *Ibid.*, August 10-16, 1898.
60. *Ibid.*, August 5-11, 1891.
61. *Ibid.*, August 10-16, 1892.
62. *Ibid.*, August 7-12, 1907.
63. *Ibid.*, August 5-10, 1908.
64. *Ibid.*, August 8-14, 1894, August 7-13, 1895.
65. *Ibid.*, August 8-13, 1889.
66. *Ibid.*, August 6-12, 1890.
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*, August 10-16, 1892.
69. *Ibid.*, August 8-14, 1894.
70. *Ibid.*, August 10-16, 1892.
71. BRMC *Minutes*, October 4, 1892.
72. *Ibid.*, October 13, 1892.
73. *Ibid.*, February 1, 1893.
74. *Ibid.*, February 9, 1893.
75. NCYM *Minutes*, August 8-14, 1894.
76. BRMC *Minutes*, February 4, 1895.
77. NCYM *Minutes*, August 5-10, 1896.
78. *Ibid.*, August 7-13, 1895.
79. *Ibid.*, August 3-10, 1897.
80. *The Friends Messenger*, June, 1905.
81. NCYM *Minutes*, August 7-12, 1901.

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82. *Ibid.*, August 5-10, 1903.
83. *Ibid.*, August 4-9, 1909.
84. BRMC *Minutes*, April 30, 1894.
85. NCYM *Minutes*, August 3-8, 1910.
86. *Ibid.*, August 9-14, 1911.
87. *Ibid.*, August 7-12, 1912.
88. *Ibid.*, August 4-9, 1915.
89. *Ibid.*, August 9-14, 1916.
90. *Ibid.*, August 8-13, 1917.
91. Permanent Board of North Carolina Yearly Meeting *Minutes*, April 9, 1918.
92. *Ibid.*, April 11, 1922.
93. *Ibid.*, August 2, 1921.
94. NCYM *Minutes*, August 9-14, 1899, August 5-10, 1903, August 8-13, 1906.
95. BRMC *Minutes*, November 8, 1905.
96. NCYM *Minutes*, August 3-10, 1897.

Recent Books

The Recent Books section of *The Southern Friend*, inaugurated with this issue, will contain reviews of five or six new books relevant to the study of Southern Quaker history, including the history of religion in America (particularly the South), the history of Friends, and the history of social movements in which Friends have played a leading part, such as the peace movement and the movement to abolish slavery. The editor welcomes suggestions for books to be reviewed and for qualified reviewers, and thanks the reviewers for this and future issues for their excellent work.

Damon D. Hickey
Book Review Editor

Cooney, Robert, and Michalowski, Helen, editors. *The Power of the People*. Culver City, California: Peace Press, 1977.

This lettersized, hardbound or softbound account of active non-violence in the United States throughout history was, in its own words, "conceived of and undertaken more as a political project than an academic one. Besides recording the American tradition of nonviolence, *The Power of the People* served to draw nonviolent groups together in voluntary united action to produce the book independently. Subsequently, there is not a single publisher, but over 35 co-publishers who participated in this cooperative publishing effort by committing money or purchasing copies before publication."

While it is a history, it is also a message from people who believe in a particular type of approach to modifying the power structure and who are testifying to a belief that there is a better way than violence to secure change. Yet readers should be aware that it does not center on pacifism, a belief system, but rather its focus is on nonviolent action programs and the people associated with them.

The material is organized around several perspectives. There are

historical periods discussed as the one from 1650–1915, World War I, and World War II. There are discussions of social movements like the Woman's Suffrage Movement, the Labor Movement, the Civil Rights Movement, and the United Farm Workers Union. There are brief histories of organizations like the American Friends Service Committee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, The Catholic Worker, and the War Resisters League. There are brief biographical sketches of leaders of nonviolent action as Emma Goldman, Eugene Debs, Alice Paul, Devere Allen, John Haynes Holmes, Evan Thomas, Dorothy Day and many others. There are pictorial presentations on nearly every page and sometimes several per page, making it very entertaining as well as informing.

Quakers get a considerable amount of attention in the earlier periods of the material beginning with the chapter of *The Roots of American Nonviolence 1650–1915*. John Archdale, Quaker governor of the Carolinas (1694–1697), was seen as one who would not “personally use or cooperate with violence” and would “seek to alter undesirable situations by acts of good will and reconciliation.” The efforts of Friends and others for “freedom of conscience” and the right to conscientious objection during the Revolutionary War and the Civil War period are presented. The Society of Friends is credited with starting the first anti-slavery society in 1780 and with holding “leadership positions in the women's movement far out of proportion to their relative number in the general population.” There is an interesting account of Alice Paul, a Moorestown, New Jersey Quaker and a leader in the Woman's Suffrage movement. There is the account of the development of the American Friends Service Committee and its activities as they relate directly to the area of nonviolence. Neither Quakers nor the Society of Friends are mentioned as contributing to the struggle for the rights of labor.

The book should appeal to a wide variety of people. For those unfamiliar with the use of nonviolent actions to secure a sharing of power, the account may open their eyes to an approach that allows the greatest opportunity for conciliation with those being pressed to share power. It could serve as an excellent basis for youth discussion groups of Friends Meetings and, if adults sponge on the group's conversations, that might be all to the good also. For people who are familiar with the area of nonviolence there are surely many bits of information that are unknown to them, and that will give them a more complete approach to its history as well as its present.

Perhaps for some the book may encourage nonviolence as a way of life. To assist in such a direction there is a listing of nonviolent organizations in the United States, by state, with addresses for each organization. As an added bonus there is an excellent fourteen page reading list to

enable readers to follow up on interests. If you are already dedicated to nonviolence as a way of life perhaps it may give extra incentive to demonstrate its potential. It may, in the words of Dorothy Day, “inspire renewed dedication.”

From my value perspective the book deserves wide attention. Read it. You will be better for having done so.

Cyrus M. Johnson
Guilford College

Hinshaw, Seth B. *Walk Cheerfully, Friends*. Greensboro: North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1978.

Students of the history of the Carolinas should be introduced to *Walk Cheerfully, Friends*, by Seth Bennett Hinshaw. The book was written to answer the question, “Why am I a Quaker?”, and the author is a North Carolina Quaker. The basic beliefs of the Religious Society of Friends he puts in terms of people who lived their creed. Theology comes out not as some dogma but in the way it causes a person to behave in the family, community, and society in general, as he feels led by the Spirit of God. With that much liberty in personal interpretation of one’s duty, there have been heroic and sacrificial responses and some surprisingly human—even humorous—results. This book has illustrations of both. We are introduced to a procession of Quaker men and women that cleared land, built meeting houses and schools, helped make laws, and worked for a better society—and left a heritage of good tales in the process. Historical data is incidental but authentic and is the backdrop for many interesting people and events. The reader is sure to get information and insights even if his purpose is not focused primarily on Quaker thought. Mary Edith Hinshaw’s illustrations add to the attractiveness of the book.

Esta B. Haworth
Jamestown Friends Meeting

Holifield, E. Brooks. *The Gentlemen Theologians: American Theology in Southern Culture, 1795–1860*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1978.

Brooks Holifield’s first book, based on his Yale doctoral dissertation, was a study of Puritan sacramental theology, and it ranks among the best half-dozen of the many excellent works on Puritanism published during the past twenty-five years. Moving to his present position on the faculty of

Candler School of Theology at Emory University, he broadened his research to the southeast. The result is a luminous study of religion in southern culture which takes seriously the transformation of thought and behavior in the making of a southern way of life.

As one of those wonderful books which can be read at various levels, *The Gentlemen Theologians* is first of all a revisionist study which attacks the notion that southern Protestantism was anti-intellectual and crudely emotional revivalism. The sermons and theological writings of the antebellum period abounded with efforts to reconcile Christian belief with enlightenment rationalism. "Persuaded of the unity of truth," the author explains, "the Southern theologians believed that human experience overflowed with analogies anticipated, confirmed, and illuminated the facts of revelation" (p. 72). The core of this argument fills chapters 4-7 which deal respectively with evidences for faith, Scottish philosophical and theological influences, concepts of Christian morality, and covenant theology. In an intimate oral culture threatened by external forces in command of the printed word, the idea of tangible, arguable *evidence* for the truths of Christianity became increasingly important and urgent for the educated leadership of southern society. This search for certainty and authority coincided with the last period—the golden age—of Scottish moral philosophy as the core of American higher education. Scottish ideas, in turn, enabled learned, dignified clergy to endorse religion of the heart and the emotions by giving them an elaborate vocabulary and body of theory about the heart and the emotions of God's human creatures. As a result they "fit sacramental theology into the world view of rational orthodoxy" and they "valued the sacraments primarily for their pedagogical usefulness" (pp. 184-85).

By treating theology as a language of cultural discourse and religious life as an expression, a playing out, of impulses and desires from the secular world, Holifield has also produced a suggestive sketch of culture and identity. The bold and articulate theology of the period, like so much of the Old South, was fraught with instability. Another intriguing thesis—though the least well documented—is that rational theology was a product of the larger towns whose elites, including prominent preachers, had an exalted and unrealistic sense of their influence over the rural hinterland. Along with Donald G. Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*, Drew Gilpin Faust, *A Sacred Circle*, and Rhys Isaac's and Bertram Wyatt-Brown's articles on southern folk culture, this book inaugurates a new era in the study of southern religion and one which promises to be as fruitful and exciting as the study of New England Puritanism.

Robert M. Calhoon
University of North
Carolina at Greensboro

Mathews, Donald G. *Religion in the Old South*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.

Like its subject, *Religion in the Old South* defies classification. Grounded in enormous research in sermons, church records, personal testimony, and collective biography, it is nonetheless a spare, concise essay on the creation of culture in the post-Revolutionary and antebellum South. Concerned with very real historical problems—the social order, slavery, cultural and intellectual leadership of southern society—the book is also tied together by sociological insights (especially those of Peter Berger), by a Faulknerian sense of irony and tragedy, and by an appreciation of the reality of what H. Richard Niebuhr calls “the Kingdom of God in America.” Modestly intended to be a “first” rather than “last word” on a complex subject, the book still uses the language of the evangelicals with such powerful effect that it is hard to see how the argument could be seriously revised short of total demolition.

“The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me,” declared the prophet Isaiah; “he hath sent me to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives. . . .” That message, Mathews argues, became an ideology of hope and deliverance for middle-class and lower middle-class folk in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries—a message which thrust them into activity, leadership, and finally a share of control of their society by the Jacksonian era. Slaves and free blacks “appropriated” this gospel of liberation at the very time that white evangelicals lost their revolutionary zeal and became a part of the established order. But pro-slavery evangelicalism, as Mathews depicts it, was no easy cop-out; it came to dominate Southern protestantism only after a grim, psychologically complex struggle.

The book has important implications for the study of non-evangelical religion in the Old South—especially nineteenth-century Quakers. Sydney V. James, David B. Davis, and Frederick B. Tolles have penetrated early American Quaker faith and belief by taking seriously the Friends’ sense of themselves as a people called apart from society. This scholarship implies that the Society of Friends came to terms with sectarian society by accepting, sometime during the early national period, a new role as another Protestant denomination. Mathews, however, subordinates denominationalism in the Old South to the triumph of an overarching evangelical piety and the yearning across denominational lines to impose new forms of moral and social control on society. If he is right, then Quakers and Moravians had a far more difficult adjustment to make in the nineteenth-century once they had accepted denominational status. Theology would then have faded as a divisive issue between Quakers and

other Protestants and new forms of evangelical moral suasion and ecstatic celebration may have been harder for Quakers to diagnose and resist. To raise these kinds of questions is clearly the chief intent of Mathew's book; if scholars take his hypotheses seriously, the study of Southern religion will never be the same again.

Robert M. Calhoon
University of North
Carolina at Greensboro

McGowan, James A. *Station Master on the Underground Railroad: The Life and Letters of Thomas Garrett*. Moylan, Pennsylvania: The Whimsie Press, 1977.

Much research is apparent throughout James A. McGowan's *Station Master on the Underground Railroad: The Life and Letters of Thomas Garrett*. His stated purpose is to inquire further into Garrett's life than others have done, since he finds previous works on Garrett to be inaccurate and incomplete.

McGowan begins with a chapter about the Underground Railroad, giving a brief history of the institution of slavery in the United States and providing a good description of the Underground Railroad as a means of escape for slaves. He reviews some of the literature and historiography about the Railroad, including Larry Gara's recent *Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad*. At this point, the main subject, Thomas Garrett, is introduced as one who did much to aid slaves and lead them to freedom. McGowan mentions the involvement of Quakers and others, including William Lloyd Garrison, Lucretia Mott, Harriet Tubman, William Still, and William and Ellen Craft.

Next McGowan deals with earlier accounts of Garrett's life. He attempts to correct inaccurate statements and clarify details found in these works. His is the first lengthy biography of Garrett. He shows a good sense of historical judgment in pointing out that one should study exaggerations in Garrett's life as they relate to the nineteenth century rather than as they seem by present-day standards. McGowan also traces Garrett's genealogy from 1684.

Several chapters deserve special recognition. "A Brief Word About Quakers and Quakerism" would be particularly helpful to someone who is unfamiliar with Quakerism. McGowan tells something of the Quaker belief in the equality of man that underlay Garrett's feelings toward slavery. "Thomas Garrett, the Man," presents various incidents that illustrate his character and dedication to the work of freeing slaves. Much

attention is given to the 1848 trial of Garrett for harboring and aiding fugitive slaves. Through a careful study of court records McGowan is able to present a consistent account.

Too much attention is occasionally given to trivia, such as the detailed discussion of why a wagon was used when the Garretts moved to Wilmington, Delaware. The history of the town of Wilmington is overlong.

The second half of the book is an annotated selection of Garrett's letters, which McGowan finds to be a reliable source of information. Before each group of letters are biographical notes and information about antislavery leaders to whom they were written. McGowan points out peculiarities in Garrett's handwriting and his own difficulties in reading it, but does not seem to realize that these seeming eccentricities were typical of Garrett's period. McGowan's suggestions for others involved in research of this nature could prove helpful.

In all, *Station Master on the Underground Railroad* shows evidence of much original research which is especially commendable since McGowan is not a historian by profession. He has fulfilled his objective of writing a biography that contains much that is new about its subject.

Gertrude Beal

Greensboro Historical Museum

Selleck, George A. *Quakers in Boston, 1656-1964*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Friends Meeting at Cambridge, 1976.

Executive Secretary of Cambridge Friends Meeting from 1936-1964, George Selleck has written a solid book, reminiscent of Howard Brinton's study of the Society. Selleck's 300-year history is confined to the Boston area; but there is enough to fill an extremely well documented 275 pages of text followed by 43 pages of notes, a 14 page bibliography, and 12 pages of index listing names, places, events, topics, and Quaker concerns. This volume reflects George Selleck's Friendly attitudes and his perceptions of Quakerism. About 30 years ago when this reviewer applied for membership at Cambridge as a convinced Friend, I remember George Selleck "interviewing" me by asking and almost answering his own questions: "Are you familiar with Friends sacraments—we don't have any."

Selleck's account is particularly strong in giving us an awareness of the actors in the Quaker movement, including a few known to Friends in the South (there are references, for example, to Floyd Moore and Guilford College). However, some names—such as folksinger Joan Baez—are missing. While living in the Boston area, the Baez family membership was at Cambridge Meeting. Authors Edward Wagenknecht in literature,

Wm. F. Luder in chemistry, and others, are not included. Although Thomas Wood (1848–1928) is given prominent space, with a handsome portrait—he went into the coffee business and set up coffee houses in Boston to discourage the use of alcoholic beverages—as with most history it is easier to praise past heroes than present agitators. Thus, there is no mention of the efforts and lonely silent (and sometimes very vocal) vigil of Grace Luder all during the 1950's–1970's at Cambridge to promote an active interest in temperance education.

Also not mentioned is the embarrassment caused by a Friend who habitually would be the second (never the first) to speak at Cambridge Meeting. Invariably, it would be on the evils of tobacco. I can recall several occasions when the entire meeting for worship would remain silent just to assure that this individual would never get his chance to witness for his favorite abstinence. To the contrary, at least one form of smoking was highly approved by the Meeting. The huge fireplace often glowed, sparkling delightfully during silent worship, giving rise to the comment that in the minds of visitors we might be charged with paganism: “Quakers worship fire!”

A test of the merit of a treatise of this sort is whether it might appeal to non-Friends as well as those more knowledgeable. In both respects this is an appropriate study of the individuals involved and of their ideas. Thus the social concerns testimony is clearly explained—oaths, conscientious objection, the spiritual basis for Quaker practices, the theological beliefs underlying Friendly attitudes and work, and the difficulties which are characteristic of any group of people as individually and as socially oriented as Quakers—conformity to non-conformity and the peculiarities to be expected within a community which values peculiarity, but at the same time assuming a social responsibility to bring God's kingdom into being on this earth, idealism and reality together in a holy tension.

From the execution of Mary Dyer by hanging in 1659 to the dedication of her statue on Boston Common in 1959 (a photo of the statue is on the book's cover), Quaker sufferings, service, and controversies are chronicled. George Selleck's research covers the Quaker “invasion” of Puritan Boston in 1656; relationship with the Indians; the Revolutionary War; Friends testimonies—in the 1770–1780's numerous Boston Quakers were disowned for such breaches as drinking, gambling, dancing, marrying non-Friends, and joining the Masons; the problem of how to abolish slavery without violence; experiments with pastoral and non-programmed worship; the peace witness, right up through 1964. Despite omissions, *Quakers in Boston* is worth reading. It gives us a deeper appreciation of ourselves. The Foreword is by Henry Cadbury, one of the many Friends included in this record, published both in hardback for \$15 and

paperbound at \$4, copyrighted 1976, Friends Meeting at Cambridge, 5 Longfellow Park, Cambridge, Mass. 02138. As an economist, I recommend the \$4 edition.

Frederick W. Parkhurst, Jr.
Guilford College

The North Carolina Friends Historical Society

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Cover illustration is the logo adopted by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society from the John Collins lithograph of the New Garden Friends Meeting House of 1790. Courtesy of the Quaker Collection, Guilford College.

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The Cuban Connection: North Carolina Friends and Cuba

BY

Hiram H. Hilty

We can trace the origin of Cuban Quakerism from Havana in 1899 all the way back to Back Creek, North Carolina in 1869. It was there that young Samuel Alexander Purdie first met the Spanish language in the flesh in the person of an old Spanish miner, and the miner agreed to teach him his native tongue.¹ This was crucial for Purdie, because for some years he had felt a call to go to some Hispanic country to carry George Fox's message of peace.

Samuel Purdie had already begun an odyssey by being in North Carolina, for he was a native of up-state New York and had come to North Carolina to teach school. A concerned Young Friend, he had responded to the call of the Baltimore Association to help restore the schools of North Carolina, and begin the education of the newly-freed slaves. He went first to Centre Meeting in 1866, and it was while teaching at Back Creek that he was "discovered" by Allen Jay. When way opened through the Friends Missionary Association of Indiana in 1871 for him to go to Mexico, he was ready. He took his North Carolina bride, Gulielma Hoover, with him and established himself in Matamoros, just across the river in Mexico from Brownsville, Texas. There he soon established a printing press which continued for many years to publish a variety of Friends literature and evangelical tracts. It was 28 years later, two years after Purdie's untimely death in El Salvador and when the press had long since moved to Ciudad Victoria, that some of the material emanating from it fell into the hands of Francisco G. Cala in Havana. Murray's *Life of George Fox* is mentioned, and also a pamphlet called *Valiente por la Verdad*. He also read the little newspaper *El Ramo de Olivo* which had been founded by Samuel Purdie in Matamoros.

Francisco Cala was at that time a former Catholic-former Epis-

copalian who had "for 18 years preached the gospel independent of every sect" in Cuba.² Upon reading the Friends literature, he was immediately convinced that he had found Christianity in its purest form. He at once declared himself to be a Friend and wrote to Mexican Friends seeking recognition for himself as a Friend, which was granted. Francisco G. Cala thus became the first Quaker of record in Cuba. He later asked for recognition for his entire congregation of 140 members as a Friends meeting, which was also granted by Mexican Friends. Although he later had his problems with the American Quaker establishment in Cuba, he went to Oriente Province in advanced years, married a cousin of one of Cuba's future Quaker leaders, and died in the service of Friends.³

All of the early American Quakers going to Cuba stopped to visit Francisco Cala in Havana, and they all spoke highly of him. He claimed that among the members of the Havana Friends Meeting in 1899 was General John R. Brooke, the first Military Governor of Cuba following the Spanish-American War, and also his wife and all his staff. While this may sound incredible, it is just possible that the man who decreed separation of church and state and issued a proclamation appointing November 12, 1899 as Thanksgiving Day in a former Spanish colony without any such tradition may have sought out this nonconforming religious fellowship.

Among those visiting Francisco Cala in Havana in 1899, and perhaps joining in the celebration of the first Thanksgiving Day in Cuba, was one Ellen Woody of North Carolina. She was in Cuba at that time as a companion for the ailing John B. Wood of Camden, New Jersey. They were both Quakers, and sometime after Christmas proceeded to Madruga, where medicinal waters had led to the establishment of a health spa which was popular at that time. From Madruga, they apparently moved on to Aguacate and established themselves there, gathering around them persons interested in religious matters.⁴

Since the arrival of Ellen Woody on Cuban soil, there have always been members of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, or persons with their roots in North Carolina Quakerdom, in more or less intimate contact with those who came under Friends influence in Cuba. It has now been 80 years — a period which has seen the birth of the Republic of Cuba (1902), two American interventions, two world wars, a great depression, two particularly oppressive dictator-

ships, and more recently the emergence of a Socialist (Communist) state. Through it all, a friendly people-to-people relationship has been maintained.

Friends, of course, were not alone in their interest in Cuba in 1899. It was part of a broad interest in underdeveloped countries by almost everyone. The nineteenth century had greatly altered the nature of America and the Americans. The pioneer West, a cruel civil war, steady and overwhelming pressure on the Indians, conquest of vast Mexican lands, the emergence of a great industrial empire, and a recently victorious navy — all these combined to create a messianic complex in Americans. Clearly, America was a land of destiny, and for a nation still profoundly religious, destiny imposed religious obligations.

Josiah Strong, in 1895, had challenged Americans with these words:

Many are not aware that we are living in extraordinary times. Few suppose that these years of peaceful prosperity, in which we are quietly developing a continent, are the pivot on which is turning the nation's future. And fewer still imagine that the destinies of mankind for centuries to come, can be seriously affected, much less determined, by the men of this generation in the United States.⁵

Strong believed that a special responsibility devolved upon Anglo-Saxon Americans to redeem the world, and specifically Latin America. American youth of the era were caught up in the idea of Manifest Destiny, and those religiously inclined were challenged by a vigorous and global effort to "win the world to Christ in our generation."

North Carolina Friends were very much caught up in the evangelistic fervor of the age. Seth Hinshaw tells us that such leaders as Isham Cox, Allen Jay, Albert Peele, and Mary C. Woody began to hold "General Meetings" across the state at the turn of the century, eventuating in a "Revival Movement" among Friends in North Carolina. Visiting preachers came in from outside the state to hold meetings. This was also the period when some monthly meetings were beginning to release certain ministers for full-time pastoral service. The vocation of a ministry in pastoral or missionary service was for the first time becoming an option for young Friends.⁶

Actually, there had been a growing interest in foreign missions ever since the Civil War, and Samuel Purdie was perhaps the first to go into mission service from North Carolina. In 1898, the Friends Foreign Missionary Board of North Carolina Yearly Meeting was formally established and gave its first annual report at the Yearly Meeting session. It spoke of giving aid to two little girls in India, and reported that Annie V. Edgerton (later Williams) felt a leading to serve as a missionary in India.⁷ The following year she joined Esther Baird in India in the work of the Ohio Yearly Meeting (Damascus).

Ellen and Martha Woody of Saxapahaw, North Carolina, were among the young Friends of this period who developed a deep interest in missions. Nurtured in the Spring Meeting, they attended the Spring Meeting School and Guilford College, where there was lively missionary interest among the students at the time. Ellen's career included further study at the Bible Training School at Cleveland, Ohio, an institution then engaged in training persons for Christian service among Friends in the United States and abroad. She subsequently served as a librarian in Camden, New Jersey, and matron of John B. Wood's Home for Crippled Boys at Merchantville, New Jersey.⁸ It was from Camden, New Jersey, that she went to Cuba.

During the spring of 1900, Zenas L. Martin, superintendent of the new Friends Mission then being established by the American Friends Board of Foreign Missions in Oriente Province, Cuba, visited the Wood group at Aguacate.⁹ He found four Americans living there: John B. Wood, Ellen and Martha Woody, and one Arthur Dowe, an artist and former Friends minister from California. After a brief stay with the Cala mission in Havana, they had proceeded to Madruga and Aguacate, some sixty miles to the east of Havana, and established a work of their own at the latter place.¹⁰ Published letters from Dowe and Wood identify them as ecstatic evangelicals, interested, among other things, in glossolalia.¹¹ The two men stayed but a short time, but the Woody sisters remained. John B. Wood continued his interest in the work from New Jersey and for a time sustained it personally.

Was this a Friends mission? The editor of *The Friend* (Philadelphia) introduced a letter from John B. Wood in 1901 with this laconic note: "We have from time to time given notes of information concerning Protestant effort in Cuba under the name of

Friends, and in continuation of such information the following offering may be suitably added." For his part, John B. Wood says in the letter that he can only exclaim with Abraham's servant, "I went in the way the Lord led me."¹²

It seems likely that the Woody sisters were much influenced by the needy condition of the Cubans they found at Aguacate and the surrounding area, although Arthur Dowe disavowed any interest in relief. The Spanish-American War, which had only just concluded, was a highly visible event and was, indeed, called a "newspaper war" by some subsequent historians. Ellen and Martha Woody must have read about, and had still fresh in their minds; the stories of the concentration camps set up in Cuba by General Valeriano Weyler. All rural residents had been crowded into these miserable stockades to prevent them from harboring rebels. The camps of the *reconcentrados* became an international scandal.

Clara Barton, organizer of the American Red Cross and at the time 77 years old, had given a moving account of relief service in Cuba just prior to the outbreak of the war. She wrote of arriving at Jaruco to supervise the disposition of 52 tons of supplies which had just arrived there on the boat *Vigilancia*, and finding that that place had "suffered greatly." The number of *reconcentrados* in Jaruco was so great that "more persons actually died in that town during the three years of the war than comprised its own entire population when it began." She describes the enormous task of cleaning up a hospital capable of having 50 – 70 patients and rescuing from filth and neglect four derelict patients evidently left there to die.¹³

While Aguacate was the first place mentioned in "John B. Wood's Mission," Jaruco soon became the principle point for this little group. It was a very needy place. Joseph M. Purdie later reported that the town had once had a population of 8000, which at the time of the events considered here had been reduced to 1200 by the ravages of war. Indeed, in 1897 the city had been burned to the ground on orders of rebel leader Antonio Maceo. The missionaries' reports were to be replete with stories about widows and orphans.¹⁴

We have noted the process by which Ellen Woody arrived in Cuba, but we have still to account for her sister, Martha Jay, who joined the little group at Aguacate early in 1900. Like her sister, she had been a member of the Student Volunteer Band at Guilford College, and afterward had taught school "in the mountains" for a

few years. Committed to missionary service, she opened a mission at Madruga, not far from Aguacate and Jaruco, in 1902. She continued there largely alone except for a brief period of service in Puerto Rico (1907 – 1909), until her withdrawal for reasons of health. In 1917, while on furlough, she studied at “Wilbert White’s Bible Teacher’s Training College” in New York. Her health proved to be delicate, and in 1919, having gone to California to rest and recuperate, she died in the home of Benjamin Farquhar in East Whittier.¹⁵

The third North Carolinian in the Cuba Mission was an adopted son, Arthur E. L. Pain. According to John B. Wood, he was “a wild young Englishman in South America, straying where he would in vice and sin,” before he was fated to meet the little group of Quakers at Aguacate. Actually, he was born the son of a British doctor in India, grew up in London, and ventured forth at the tender age of 17 to seek his fortune in Argentina. His father had just died at that time, and he threw his enormous energy into the cattle business. The venture prospered, and he stayed there long enough to make a fortune — and squander it. Later, in Colombia, he pioneered in the trans-Andean East as a lumberman, narrowly escaping death at the hands of bandits. In Nicaragua, he became involved with the Americans in exploration for a canal site, and in Cuba he was laying plans for a new fortune in the development of beach properties, when he met the Woody sisters. Our adventurer was now 32 years old.¹⁶

Having once before experienced an emotional crisis while on a visit to London, Pain was again at a point in his life where he questioned the values by which he had been living. Challenged by the Americans to read the Bible and other religious matter, he did so, and it totally changed the direction of his life. The missionaries put him in touch with the Missionary Institute at Nyack, New York, and he studied there in 1901 – 1902. He then was accepted for service by the American Friends Board of Foreign Missions and was assigned to Banes, Cuba, in far-off Oriente Province.¹⁷

But Arthur Pain had not forgotten the North Carolina woman who had been instrumental in changing his life. In 1903, he married Ellen Woody, and shortly returned to Havana Province where he joined her in the work at Madruga.¹⁸

Pain is remembered by Mary Edith Woody Hinshaw as a person

who retained his British accent, and was "a powerful person in some ways." He was very persuasive as a public speaker, and gave the impression of being a person of considerable formal education. It was his marriage to Ellen Woody which brought him into contact with North Carolina Friends. In 1905, Western Quarterly Meeting on Ministry and Oversight recommended that Arthur Pain's "gifts in the ministry be acknowledged." This action was duly confirmed by the Yearly Meeting, and Arthur E. L. Pain thus became a minister in the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, a status which he retained for the rest of his life.¹⁹

Arthur Pain was the evangelist's evangelist. He preached in the streets and parks, he preached in prisons, and he preached in tents. He especially loved preaching in tents, and conversions were regularly reported from his tent meetings. For example, in 1909, he reported 35 conversions following a series of meetings in Santa Cruz.²⁰ In 1922, following a succession of four tent meetings, 150 souls were reported won to Christ.²¹ Every opportunity was exploited, as for example at the funeral of 103-year-old Patrona Parra in 1908, when 10 conversions were reported.²²

The Pains extended their evangelistic efforts to North Carolina. In 1906 they were on furlough in North Carolina, during which time they engaged in evangelistic service. This time was also devoted to promoting the Cuban mission work, which by that time was officially under the care of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting.²³ This type of evangelism-promotion was repeated at intervals over the years.

Acceptance of the work in Havana Province by North Carolina Yearly Meeting had been made official in 1905, when Philadelphia Yearly Meeting transferred \$75 worth of Bibles to the mission and pledged \$50 per month for six months.²⁴ North Carolina had decided to undertake a work of its own instead of supporting workers on other fields. The work continued under the care of North Carolina Yearly Meeting until 1915 when it was turned over to the American Friends Board of Foreign Missions.²⁵

The work of the Havana Province Missions was always predominantly evangelistic in nature, and even Arthur Pain's friendly biographer, Justo Gonzalez, declares that he scattered seeds to the wind in great profusion, with only some here and there taking root — a work which he deems highly worthwhile, nevertheless. Reports

from the North Carolina missionaries reflect a special concern to correct the "false doctrines" of the Roman Catholic Church. This sometimes evoked hostility, but not always, for Gonzalez tells us of a warm friendship that sprang up between Arthur Pain and a local priest in Jaruco.

The story of Margarita Puertas indicates one level of the Quaker-Catholic confrontation. She was said to be of a cultured and well-to-do Catholic family in Madruga. Upon conversion she gave up all her religious images except one: a fine image of the Virgin, which was a treasured heirloom. At length, after much inner struggle, she gave this final symbol of the old religion to Ellen Pain.²⁶

Another anecdote concerned Celedonia, a boy convert who one day brought an unopened package to Arthur Pain saying it had fallen from a passing car. Pain opened it and found letters and \$300 in cash. He contacted the owner and returned the contents. For his part, the owner was so overcome by the boy's honesty that he took him to a local restaurant for dinner and there publicly praised the boy, declaring that he, too, would seek salvation by reading the Bible which the missionaries had just given him. Within a few days the young man was killed in an automobile accident, and the missionaries were gratified to think that he had achieved spiritual peace before the end.²⁷

Even the armed forces were not exempt from the erstwhile North Carolina Quakers. In 1918, Martha Woody visited Holguin and had a concern to give Spanish New Testaments to the Holguin Regiment. The commanding officer agreed to allow it, drew the troops up in line and standing at attention, while the Quaker lady from Saxapahaw presented each soldier and officer with a neat New Testament. North Carolina had had its day in Cuba!²⁸

Yet, despite so much dedicated effort and the consistently encouraging reports to the Board of Missions, the Mission went into decline without leaving any permanent institutions. Members were gradually absorbed into the Methodist Church, and a number of Methodist leaders to this day proudly proclaim that the Pains are their spiritual parents. For their part, the Pains continued active in evangelistic work until Arthur was taken by death in 1938. Ellen continued in Jaruco until her death in 1954, and both were buried in Cuba.

Another person with roots in North Carolina who was related to Friends work in Cuba for a time, was Joseph Moore Purdie, and his wife Una Bulla Purdie. Purdie was the son of Samuel Alexander Purdie, described earlier as the founder of the Mexican Mission of Indiana Yearly Meeting. He bore the name of Joseph Moore because that famous Quaker educator had been the teacher and friend of his father when the latter was a teacher in North Carolina.²⁹ Recalling his own North Carolina connection, and the fact that the boy's mother was a North Carolinian, Samuel Purdie sent his son to Guilford College, where he graduated in 1906. Joseph Purdie was, of course, completely bilingual, and at some time printed religious tracts in Spanish for Friends. He conducted a preaching mission for Friends in Jaruco, Cuba in 1906,³⁰ and in that year was appointed by the American Friends Board of Foreign Missions to be pastor at Holguin, in Oriente Province. This service lasted for two years. After an interlude in North Carolina, he returned to Cuba as headmaster of the Friends School at Banes in 1914. After one year, he returned to North Carolina.³¹

A key to Joseph Purdie's apparent inability to work harmoniously with the evangelical missionaries in Cuba may be seen in an article which he wrote for the *Friends Messenger* in 1908.³² In it he challenged the notion of instant conversion, insisting that religious commitment requires careful thought and "counting the cost." While health is also said to have been a factor, it is clear that Joseph Purdie and Arthur Pain would have had little in common. However, as a person more in tune with traditional Quaker attitudes, and especially with his printing press, Purdie made a significant contribution to Friends in Cuba.

A more far-reaching impact on Cuban Quakerism was made by still another North Carolinian: Henry David Cox. Born in Goldsboro, he attended Guilford College and the Kennedy School of Missions at Hartford, Connecticut, and was appointed for service in Cuba by the American Friends Board of Foreign Missions in 1910.³³ At the time he was living in Wichita, Kansas. Except for one brief interval, Henry Cox served Friends in Cuba from 1910 until his retirement in 1942. His first assignment was to Puerto Padre, and the final one in Holguin, the entire period being spent in Oriente Province. During his period of service the work in Oriente Province far surpassed that in Havana Province. By the time of his retire-

ment, twelve monthly meetings were functioning, and four strong Friends schools were in operation. Henry Cox served as superintendent of the Mission during the last decade of his service. A fledgling missionary enterprise run by foreigners had become institutionalized and was, in essence, being run by native Cubans. At the time he went to Cuba, Cox was described as a lonely widower, but in 1912 he was married to Alma Welch and she served faithfully with him until their retirement.³⁴

Despite the steady growth of the Friends community in Oriente Province, the Cox period in Cuba was difficult in many ways. A great financial panic struck Cuba early in the 1920's with the drastic decline in the price of sugar, only to be followed by the world-wide Depression of the 1930's. The Mission Board often found itself in serious financial straits, and the Coxes sometimes served at great financial sacrifice. Beyond their services as religious leaders and institution builders, the Coxes were goodwill ambassadors par excellence. Cubans uniformly spoke warmly of them after their retirement, and they kept in intimate touch with many of them from California. They returned for extended visits, and several Cuban families settled in Whittier with the Coxes' assistance. The Coxes engaged in a ministry to the Hispanic community for East Whittier Meeting after their retirement from Cuba.

Lastly, we may mention the writer himself and his wife, Janet Brown Hilty. The Hiltys' appointment to mission service in Cuba occurred while the writer was pastor of the Clinton Corners Friends Meeting in New York, and as a result mission records show them as members of the New York Yearly Meeting.³⁵ They were appointed to serve as "representatives" of American Friends to the Cuba Yearly Meeting of Friends which had been established in 1927, the word "missionary" being avoided. It was to be the final appointment of Americans to Cuba by the American Friends Board of Missions. In 1948, the writer joined the faculty of Guilford College and continued there until retirement in 1978.

There have been a number of more casual contacts between North Carolina Friends and Cuba. The person usually regarded as the founder of the Friends Mission which became Cuba Yearly Meeting is Zenas Lindley Martin. Zenas Martin first went to Cuba in April of 1900, at which time he visited Francisco Cala in Havana and the independent mission at Aguacate, but under the direction of

the American Friends Board of Foreign Missions he proceeded to Oriente Province to select a site for that body's work. He recommended Gibara, which became the first center of an officially appointed Friends mission in Cuba, and the arrival of a group of five missionaries there on November 14, 1900 is still celebrated by Cuban Friends as their birthdate.

At the time of his appointment to service in Cuba, Martin was superintendent of the Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends, and had lived in that state since childhood; but his roots were in North Carolina. He was born in Yadkinville, North Carolina in 1855, and his middle name was Lindley. What better pedigree could a North Carolina Quaker have? When he was four years old, his Quaker parents took him with them on the westward trek to Iowa, where they settled in slave-free territory at the town of Hubbard.³⁶ A hundred years later, Miguel Tamayo, a prominent Cuban Quaker, made a sentimental journey to Yadkinville to visit the birthplace of the Pioneer of Cuba Yearly Meeting. Probably few North Carolina Quakers are aware that they possess this Quaker shrine.

With the passage of time, Zenas and Susie Martin's only daughter, Evelyn, married Samuel Haworth, who became a professor of religion at Guilford College. The Haworths spent the rest of their lives in the Guilford College community, and at least twice visited her parents in Cuba. Evelyn had lived briefly in her parents' home there, and consequently knew and kept in touch with many Cuban Quakers. As a Friends minister and teacher, Samuel Haworth had been pressed into Friendly service in Cuba and was widely known among Cuban Friends. In old age, Zenas Martin returned to his native state to live in the home of his daughter. He and his wife Susie are in fact buried in the New Garden Cemetery at Guilford College.

Another almost-Tarheel is Eva Terrell Woody. As Eva Terrell, she went to Cuba as a teacher in the new Friends School in Puerto Padre in 1904.³⁷ A native of Ohio, she was appointed by the Wilmington Yearly Meeting, which sponsored the Puerto Padre Mission jointly with the American Friends Board of Foreign Missions for several years. In 1910, she returned to Ohio to marry Waldo Woody, a Friends minister. Her husband, with family ties in North Carolina, eventually settled in that state. To Waldo Woody and (Edith) Eva Terrell was born a daughter, Mary Edith, who

became the wife of Seth Hinshaw. Both she and her husband are well-known Quaker leaders and authors in North Carolina.³⁸

Annie Edgerton Williams, the former missionary to India, visited Cuban Friends from North Carolina as a member of the Cuba Committee of the American Friends Board of Foreign Missions in 1911. In 1926, Dr. Raymond Binford, then president of Guilford College, visited Cuban Friends in the company of B. Willis Beede, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Board of Foreign Missions. His article on "Quakerism and Education in Cuba" appeared in the June 3, 1926 issue of *The American Friend*.

The American Friends Board of Missions (successor to the American Friends Board of Foreign Missions) had a long-standing policy of sending lecturers to the Young Friends Convention which met in August each year at Gibara, Cuba. North Carolinians appointed to this service were: Cecil Haworth (1941 and 1952), Herschel Folger (1953), Earl Redding (1958), and David Stanfield (1959).

In 1949, the author led a Guilford-Earlham work camp to Gibara, Cuba to build a dining hall for the Young Friends Convention Center. Several students from North Carolina participated. On numerous occasions since that time he has visited Cuba as a representative of several Quaker agencies. In 1959, David and Helen Stanfield, then pastors at Springfield Meeting in North Carolina, led a work camp to repair war damage at Bocas, Cuba. Again, several Young Friends from North Carolina participated.³⁹

At various times there have been Cuban students in attendance at Guilford College, often with some connection with Cuban Friends. Four students entered Guilford together in the fall of 1957, following a visit by the author to Cuba. These young men were, in effect, sent by their parents to remove them from the hazards of the growing revolution. All of them had been students at the Colegio "Los Amigos" of Holguin. In 1977, the author visited a 1952 graduate of Guilford College in Cuba, and her fondest wish was to be able to visit Guilford once again.

Revolutionary disturbances in Cuba occasioned the migration of three members of the highly respected Morell family to Guilford College. Dr. Ilma Morell (now Manduley), a mathematics instructor at the Instituto Tecnológico of Huguin, joined the Mathematics Department of Guilford College in 1961. Her father, Dr. Ramon

Morell, former Headmaster of the Colegio "Los Amigos" of Holguin, later became a laboratory technician at Guilford, and her mother, Dr. Rosa Blanca Morell, became a member of the foreign language faculty. She was a veteran teacher of language and literature at "Los Amigos."

Among the many Cubans in North Carolina who have been associated with Friends in Cuba, we may mention Dr. Miriam Almaguer Leiva, a graduate of Guilford College and presently a professor of mathematics and computer science at the University of North Carolina-Charlotte. A sister, Betty Almaguer Manduley, is a Spanish instructor in the Greensboro Public Schools. Other Cuban Friends are active in Friends meetings in North Carolina.

There is still another dimension to the North Carolina connection with Cubans: The Cuban Friends Meeting in Miami, Florida. Long before the Cuban Revolution of 1959, many Cuban families had settled in Miami in search of a livelihood. These Friends began to gather for worship, and became aware of the American group then meeting at the Y.W.C.A. Efforts were made to combine the two groups, but this eventually failed. The Y.W.C.A. group became the Coral Gables Friends Meeting. The singing, expansive Cubans simply could not adjust to the silent-worship habits of the Americans, and the latter were uneasy at sharing with their ebullient friends. Cordial relations continue to exist after twenty years, but each group has gone its own way.

The Cuban group, in search of a wider fellowship, approached North Carolina Yearly Meeting as the nearest group affiliated with the Five Years Meeting (now the Friends United Meeting). This had been their affiliation in Cuba, and they knew people in North Carolina. So it came about that the Miami Friends Meeting became a member of North Carolina Yearly Meeting and New Garden Quarterly Meeting. A delegation of North Carolina Friends composed of Algie Newlin, Seth Hinshaw, Clyde Shore, Leslie Winslow, Betty Ott, and Eva Newlin attended the official acceptance of Miami Monthly Meeting into North Carolina Yearly Meeting on April 24, 1960.⁴⁰

Already in 1959, Earl Redding at that time a pastor in North Carolina, had become pastor of the Miami Meeting. Redding was bilingual and, with his wife Helen, rendered very useful service to the Cuban group. He later joined the staff of Church World Service

and directed the resettlement service for Cuban refugees.

Religious leadership has come to American Friends from Cuba. Not only have Cuban Friends attended sessions of the Friends United Meeting and the Friends World Committee, but bilingual persons such as Juan Sierra have ministered acceptably to North Carolina Friends. At this writing, Edith Lebrato Shepherd, a young woman of Cuban origin, is Associate Minister at the Archdale Meeting, having rendered similar service at Deep River and New Garden previously. Reared in the Holguin Friends Meeting in Cuba, she later became affiliated with the Purchase Friends Meeting in New York and then attended Guilford College. Graduating with a major in religion, she moved easily into religious service, following the models of Manuel Garrido de Catala, long a highly respected minister in Cuba, and those of other outstanding woman leaders of her native country.

Cuban and North American Friends continue in a common search for answers to the perplexing problems of our generation. After 79 years of mingling, it seems likely that their paths will continue to cross and crisscross for many years to come.

1. James P. Knowles, *Samuel A. Purdie, His Life and Letters, His Work as a Missionary and Spanish Writer and Publisher in Mexico and Central America* (Plainfield, Indiana: Publishing Association of Friends, 1908), pp. 54, 55.

2. *Friends Missionary Advocate*, January 1900, p. 6.

3. Juan Sierra, formerly of Banes, Cuba, related this information to me.

4. Justo Gonzalez, *Sembrador a Voleo, Martires y Milagros* (Miami, 1976), pp. 11-16; Or so goes the account of Justo Gonzalez, based on the testimony of Ellen Woody Pain's son Hugo Pain.

5. Josiah Strong, *Our Country, its Possible Future and its Present Crisis* (New York: The Baker and Taylor Co., 1896), p. 15.

6. Seth B. Hinshaw and Mary Edith Hinshaw, *Carolina Quakers; Our Heritage, Our Hope* (Greensboro, North Carolina, 1972), p. 62.

7. Minutes of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends held at High Point, Guilford County from the 10th of the 8th Month to the 16th of the same, 1898 (Greensboro, North Carolina, 1898), p. 16.

8. Information supplied by Ellen Woody Pain on Guilford College Alumni Information sheet, 1937, Guilford College files, The Quaker Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina.

9. Letter from Zenas L. Martin to American Friends Board of Foreign Missions [1900], Zenas L. Martin Papers, The Quaker Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina.

10. Francisco G. Cala letter, *The American Friend*, March 29, 1900, p. 302.

11. *Ibid.*, January 11, 1900, p. 33.
12. *The Friend* (Philadelphia), August 10, 1901, p. 26.
13. *Friends' Intelligencer*, May 21, 1898, pp. 370, 371.
14. *The Friends Messenger*, September 1906, [pp. 4-5].
15. *The Friends Messenger*, December 1919, [p. 1].
16. Justo Gonzalez, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-29.
17. Minutes of the American Friends Board of Foreign Missions (Richmond, Indiana, 1903), p. 62.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
19. Minutes of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1905, p. 29.
20. *The Friends Messenger*, October 1909, [p. 11].
21. *Friends Missionary Advocate*, July-August 1922, p. 228.
22. *The Friends Messenger*, September 1908, [p. 9].
25. Confirmed in a letter from Sylvester Jones to Arthur Pain, June 29, 1915. (Archives of American Friends Board of Missions, Richmond, Indiana).
26. *The Friends Messenger*, February 1908, [p. 8].
27. *Ibid.*, May 1909, [p. 9].
28. *Friends Missionary Advocate*, May 1918, p. 133.
29. Knowles, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
30. *Annual Report of American Friends Board of Foreign Missions* (Richmond, Indiana, 1906), p. 10; hereinafter referred to as AFBFM.
31. *Ibid.*, 1914, p. 212.
32. *The Friends Messenger*, October, 1908, [p. 2].
33. *Annual Report of the AFBFM*, 1910, p. 79.
34. Letter from Zenas Martin to Samuel and Evelyn Haworth, November 9, 1912, Haworth Family Papers, The Quaker Collection, Guilford College, North Carolina.
35. Cf.: Hiram H. Hilty, *Friends in Cuba* (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1977), p. 156. The Hiltys' period for service was from 1943 to 1948.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
38. We have cited the work *Carolina Quakers*. Seth Hinshaw is a former executive secretary of North Carolina Yearly Meeting.
39. These events are chronicled in Hilty, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-169.
40. Hinshaw, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

The Underground Railroad in Guilford County

BY

M. Gertrude Beal

"Underground Railroad" was a term used to describe the system by which sympathetic whites helped slaves to escape from the South to northern states and Canada before the Civil War. The means of travel was neither "underground" nor by "railroad" in a literal sense. Apparently the term comes from the fact that slaves disappeared as if they had gone into the ground. Additional railroad terminology was used. For example, Levi Coffin was one of the *presidents* of the Underground Railroad. Routes were called *lines*, stopping places were called *stations*, those who aided the slaves in their escapes were called *conductors*, and fugitive slaves were called *passengers*.

To what extent did the Underground Railroad operate in Guilford County? In this area it was an outgrowth of the manumission society, which in turn was a response to religious feelings against slavery. A large majority of the people involved were Quakers or Friends, but Wesleyan Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists also worked for the antislavery cause. Hoping through their efforts to put an end to slavery in the United States, these people first assisted free Negroes and later slaves as well.

There is general agreement that the Underground Railroad had its first station in Guilford County, but there is some disagreement as to the exact location. Three places are usually mentioned: the woods behind the present Guilford College campus, a spot in southwest Guilford County near Deep River Community, and the Hiram Worth house on Cedar Street in downtown Greensboro. The most probable place is the woods behind Guilford College. This is near the Coffin farm and several members of the Coffin family were involved in the Underground Railroad. On the campus of present-day Guilford College around the second bend of a creek

running north from the College Lake are two holes dug into the side of a steep hill ("the cave"); local residents claim that fugitive slaves were hidden there. Dr. Algie I. Newlin, Emeritus Professor of History at Guilford College, has mentioned this tradition but has also suggested that this "cave" might have been used by Confederate deserters.¹ William Wesley Pegg, a long-time resident of the Deep River Community, says he is certain that there were several stations near Guilford College and believes that these were approximately eight to twelve miles apart.²

There is primary evidence to link members of the Coffin family of New Garden with the workings of the Underground Railroad. In his *Reminiscences*, Levi Coffin (1798–1877) described his involvement in the system as a young man in Guilford County.³ Levi Coffin was later to become a famed abolitionist and president of the national organization of the Underground Railroad in Indiana. The Coffin family had a farm in the neighborhood of New Garden. Katherine Hoskins in her article, "How the Underground Railway Originated," gave the following location for the home: "the Coffins lived just east of the New Garden meeting house at Guilford College on land now owned by the Jefferson Standard Country Club. Their home faced on the Salisbury road between Martinsville and New Garden."⁴ Levi Coffin expressed his family's opposition to slavery and claimed to have "inherited" his antislavery principles.⁵

When Levi was seven years old, he had an experience that caused him to devote his life to the freeing of slaves. He saw a gang of blacks handcuffed and chained together driven by a man on horseback. The coffle, a group of fettered slaves, approached along the new Salisbury road where he was watching his father chop wood. The slaves told of being separated from their families and chained so that they would not be able to escape. Another incident that aroused his sympathies was seeing a young Negro struck with a fagot.

Coffin relates the story of Stephen, a kidnapped Negro, the first slave he helped. When Coffin was about fifteen years old, he went to a corn-husking at the home of Dr. David Caldwell (1725–1824). Also present at the corn-husking was Stephen Holland, a slave trader who had with him a number of slaves that he was taking south. Through talking with the Negroes, Coffin learned that one of them, Stephen, had been born a free man and had been

kidnapped and sold into slavery. Coffin arranged with Tom, one of Dr. Caldwell's slaves, to have Stephen brought to Coffin's father's home the next night. In the meantime, Holland had taken Stephen southward. Eventually Coffin and his associates located Stephen and sent him papers enabling him to obtain his freedom.

Coffin also told about aiding Ede, a slave woman, belonging to Dr. Caldwell. She was to be sent to Dr. Caldwell's son, Samuel, in another part of the state. When Ede heard about this plan, she was very upset because it would mean that she would be separated from her husband and children. She took her baby and hid in the woods for several days. When the baby became sick, the mother went to the Coffin house for assistance. The elder Coffin sent young Levi to talk to Dr. Caldwell about Ede. He persuaded Dr. Caldwell to keep her instead of sending her away to live with his son.

On another occasion, Levi was able to trick a master and thereby enable a slave to escape to freedom. A slaveowner named Osborne was looking for his runaway, Jack Barnes. Levi volunteered to help him find Jack. When the two stopped at a tavern, Levi encouraged Osborne to take several drinks while he himself only pretended to be drinking. After they resumed their journey, Levi managed, without Osborne's knowledge, to find Jack and tell him that his master was looking for him.

Coffin reported that runaway slaves often hid in the woods near New Garden and waited there for opportunities to escape to the North. Levi learned their hiding places and "rendered them all service" he could.⁶ He brought the slaves corn bread and bacon and listened to their stories of cruel masters and harsh treatment. The slaves also came to his home for assistance. His cousin, Vestal Coffin, also aided the fugitives. Vestal helped to arrange ways to aid them and get them started on their way to the North.

Another member of the Coffin family recorded his adventures with the Underground Railroad. This was Addison Coffin (1822–1897), son of Vestal and Alethea Coffin. In his *Life and Travels*,⁷ Addison claims to have been a conductor on one of the lines, he mentions that he was particularly suited to this task because he had the ability to remember and locate places.

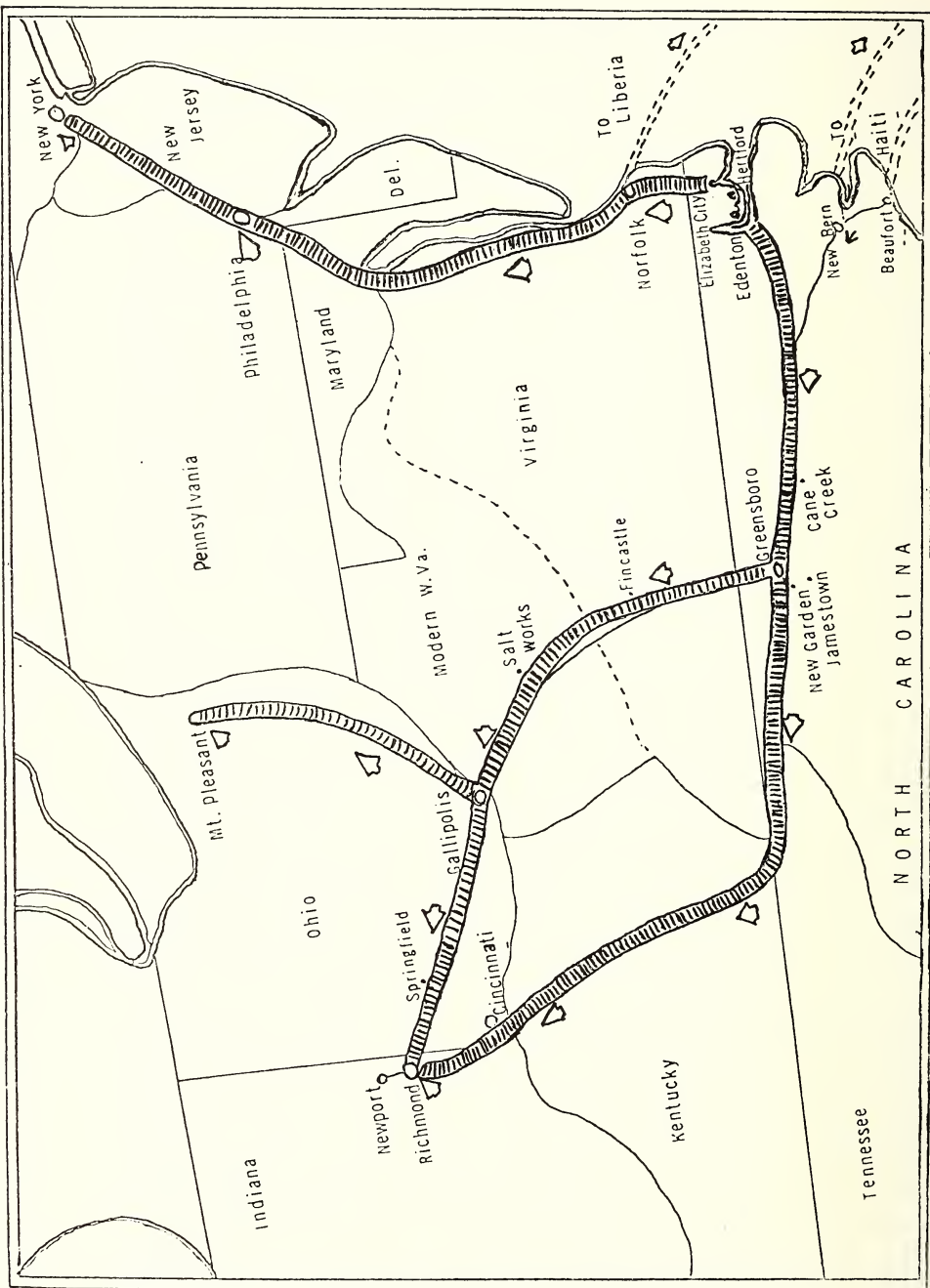
Addison Coffin claimed that his brother Alfred V. Coffin was chief manager of the Underground Railroad in North Carolina from 1836 to 1852. He asserted, further, that his father, Vestal

Coffin, originated and operated the first station of the Underground Railroad in America and that it was begun in 1819. The first passenger on the Underground Railroad, according to Addison, was John Dimrey of New Garden.⁸ Dimrey had been freed by his master in another part of the state and had come to New Garden to live as a freedman. When his former master died, the heirs came to New Garden and seized Dimrey. With Vestal Coffin's assistance, Dimrey was able to escape to Richmond, Indiana.

Levi Coffin took lessons from his cousin, Vestal. After Addison's father (Vestal) died, slaves continued to come to their home. He described his mother giving the runaways advice until he and his brother were old enough to start them on the lines of the Underground Railroad. The slave Saul began his journey on the Underground Railroad in 1835, when Addison was only thirteen years old.⁹ Addison Coffin indicated that the Underground Railroad was quite active in Guilford County from 1819 to 1852.¹⁰ He mentioned that his family never solicited or advised a slave to leave his master but only helped those who came to them seeking aid.¹¹

In his "Early Settlement of Friends in North Carolina: Traditions and Reminiscences,"¹² Addison Coffin related more details of the system's operation. He suggested that the trial of John Thompson of Greensboro in 1817-1820 probably had much to do with the organization of a station of the Underground Railroad in Guilford County. Benjamin Benson, a former slave who had obtained his freedom, was kidnapped by John Thompson in Delaware. Thompson brought him to Greensboro, and when he refused to let Benson have his freedom, Thompson was brought to court. The court's decision was that Benson should have his freedom. Addison Coffin mentions that his father, Vestal, was one of the commissioners appointed to represent Benson.

Addison recorded North Carolina routes through Virginia to Pennsylvania and through Richmond, Virginia, to the Ohio River on the Virginia turnpike. By 1830, stations were established along these routes at intervals of twenty to thirty miles. The stations were the homes of men interested in the antislavery cause. Slaves walked from station to station at night and when necessary hid in cornfields, forests, and friendly homes to avoid being captured by owners or patrols. According to Coffin, the system continued from 1830 to 1860 without anyone finding out about the secret system.



Routes of the Underground Railroad and Quaker Free Negroes. From Hiram H. Hilby, "North Carolina Quakers

He described in detail the system of marking used for the Underground Railroad:

From the starting point in North Carolina to the great turnpike in Virginia the Underground Railroad was built, constructed, or marked, as we may call it, by *driving nails in trees, fences, and stumps*. When there was a fork in the road there was a nail driven in a tree three and half feet from the ground half way round from front to back, if the right hand road was to be taken the nail was driven on the right hand side, if the left was the road the nail was to the left. If there were fences and no tree, the nail was driven in the middle of the second rail from the top, over on the inside of the fence, to the right, or left as in the trees, if neither tree, nor fence was near then a stake, or a stone was so set as to be *unseen* by day, but found at night.¹³

The conductor was the man responsible for keeping the road marked, making changes in routes when necessary. Success depended upon the conductor's ability to remember locations and to chart the safest route. In North Carolina, the conductor rarely accompanied the slaves unless women and children were to be traveling. Addison Coffin included the instructions for crossing rivers and streams. The conductors showed how to make a raft of four to six fence rails tied together with rope, cord, or a vine. After using this to cross the body of water, the slaves would cut apart the rails and float them down stream. Thus they would avoid leaving evidence of people having crossed.

Coffin mentioned the danger involved in being a conductor and stated that few people remained conductors in the South for more than ten years. Most of the people working on the North Carolina line, according to Addison Coffin, were members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). In a letter written to J. W. Woody on May 14, 1894, Addison recorded the route of the railroad to Indiana. Between New Garden and Fincastle, he stated, was "the *real* underground part . . . , the *difficult* part."¹⁴ Besides writing about the Underground Railroad, Addison Coffin must have spoken often about it. Sallie W. Stockard in her book, *The History of Guilford County, North Carolina* (1902), noted: "I have several times heard Addison Coffin talk of the Underground Railroad and how it was operated."¹⁵

While Vestal Coffin (1792-1826) did not leave writings about

his involvement in the Underground Railroad as did Levi and Addison Coffin, a letter makes clear his connection with it. The letter, dated June 14, 1825, is addressed to Martha Moore from George C. Mendenhall, a lawyer from Jamestown. Apparently Martha Moore was concerned that her slaves attain freedom. Mendenhall wrote:

Jeremiah Hubbard is of the opinion that if you would appoint Vestal Coffin of this county as an agent, he would honestly and safely convey your slaves to any other state that you may desire. He has been engaged heretofore warmly in the cause of emancipating slaves and securing Liberty to those of color who are free but improperly held in Bondage.¹⁶

Further evidence for Vestal Coffin's involvement in the Underground Railroad comes from Wilbur H. Siebert's *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom*. In an appendix, Siebert provided a listing of Underground Railroad Operators and Vestal Coffin is the one listed from North Carolina.¹⁷

There is evidence to suggest that some members of the Mendenhall family of Jamestown were active in the operation. According to community and family tradition the home of Richard Mendenhall (1778–1851) was a station.¹⁸ Richard was a tanner by trade; his leather goods were sold in his store across the street from his home which a slave operated.

Dr. Hiram H. Hilty believes that a memorial on Richard Mendenhall's death (1851) supports the tradition that his home was used as a station. According to the memorial, "The Stranger ever found a friend and the wayward traveller needed only the tattered badge of poverty to secure him a place 'where to lay his head.' The widow and orphan were never turned away empty."¹⁹ If Richard Mendenhall's home did not serve as a hiding place for fugitive slaves, his sympathies were certainly with the Underground Railroad. A leader in the antislavery movement, he served as President of the Manumission Society in 1825. Both Richard and his brother, George, held slaves for the purpose of training them in skills and freeing them.

George Mendenhall (1800–1860) inherited some slaves from his first wife, Eliza Dunn; others he purchased when the Negroes themselves asked him to be their master. It was said that George treated his slaves well and gave them many opportunities. He had

quite a large number of slaves for this part of the South — thirty-nine in 1850.²⁰ George Mendenhall, also a member of the manumission society, trained his slaves in handicrafts so they could support themselves. As soon as they proved themselves suited for emancipation, he transported them to Ohio and free soil. A “Deed of Emancipation of George C. Mendenhall to Twenty-Eight of his Slaves” signed June 28, 1855, provided for slaves that had been transferred to Logan County, Ohio.²¹ He provided in his will that all his slaves be freed. He urged fellow slaveholders to emancipate their slaves during their lifetimes to assure the Negroes’ freedom. In a letter to Martha Moore, June 14, 1825, he discussed the various ways of freeing slaves within the laws of the time:

The only way therefore seems to be, to set them free by removing to a free state or country in your own life time for you cannot set them free here in this State, either by deed or will, because the Laws will not allow thereof. You can employ an agent and give him a Power of attorney to convey them to Ohio or Indiana State and leave or settle them there; it is a plentiful country where they would no doubt in a short time be in a measure comfortably situated and where they could enjoy more privileges and a greater degree of Liberty than free persons of color can by our law enjoy in North Carolina. If you are disposed to remove them I can only say it might be well for their security that it should be done at as early a period as practicable with convenience.²²

George Mendenhall defended David Beard, the owner of a local hat shop, for aiding and harboring fugitive slaves. He succeeded in having Beard acquitted of the charge. He also defended Adam Crooks and Jesse McBride, Wesleyan Methodist abolitionists. These men were indicted for circulating a pamphlet “‘knowingly, wickedly, and unlawfully’ intending ‘to excite insurrection, conspiracy, and resistance [among] slaves.’”²³ After Mendenhall’s eloquent statement of three and one-half hours, Crooks was acquitted.

Local tradition has it that Delphina Mendenhall (1811–1882), the second wife of George C. Mendenhall, aided David Beard in hiding fugitive slaves. Beard (1774–1849), also of Jamestown, was called the local Underground Railroad head. David, son of William and Lavinah Beard, learned the hatter’s trade from his father. After his father’s death in 1795, he opened a hat shop about one

mile from Jamestown. It is said that his home and his hat shop were stations on the Underground Railroad. David was a strong Quaker abolitionist and according to an article by Alpheus Briggs (1857–1936),²⁴ a member of High Point Friends Meeting, he harbored runaway slaves, hiding them under piles of rabbit skins in his shop. Late in his life, he was brought before the Greensboro court and accused of illegally assisting escaping slaves. George C. Mendenhall, defending him, made such a touching appeal to the jury that the old man was only reprimanded by the court.

Joshua Edgar Murrow, a long-time resident of the Centre Community, tells of the part that his grandfather had in helping fugitive slaves to escape on the Underground Railroad.²⁵ His grandfather was Andrew Caldwell Murrow (1820–1904), named for *Andrew Jackson* and Dr. *David Caldwell*. Andrew Caldwell Murrow was orphaned as a young child and adopted by Joshua Stanley (1785–1855), a leading abolitionist in Guilford County. Stanley owned a station on the Underground Railroad at what is now the crossroads of U. S. 220 and N. C. 62. Young Murrow hid fugitive slaves in a haystack near the Stanley home. What looked like a stack of feed in the barnyard was really a little room with feed piled around it to conceal the structure.

Murrow was a conductor on the Underground Railroad and as such drove a wagon of runaway slaves to Newport, Indiana. They stopped at the homes of abolitionists, “stations,” along the way. The stations were spaced so that people could walk the distance from one station to another in one night. The conductor or engineer rode in a wagon. He drove from station to station one day ahead of the fugitives and told the owners of the stations how many runaways to expect the next morning so they could prepare for their arrival. The slaves were hidden during the day in various places like the haystack on the Stanley property. The wagon Murrow drove belonged to Stanley and it had a false bottom. He carried corn meal and pottery in the wagon to sell to people along the way. When necessary, escaping slaves were hidden in the false bottom of the wagon. At the Ohio River, U. S. Marshals searched the wagon but did not discover the Underground Railroad passengers.

On another occasion, a runaway slave had made a small “pocket” out of a skin. He was a groomsman and would receive tips from people for taking care of their horses. His master told him that

when the pocket was full of money, he could have his freedom. This was accomplished and a manumit was written testifying that the slave had bought his freedom. Unfortunately someone stole the paper from him and he was sold back into slavery. His master had since died so there was no way to prove that he was a freedman. The slave then decided to run away. He was one of the people Murrow aided in his Underground Railroad activities. When the man arrived in Indiana, he was so pleased that he was finally free. He filled the little pocket with free soil and passed it down to his grandchildren along with the story of his escape to freedom.

According to Murrow's grandson, the reason the Railroad was started was the failure of the manumission society and the fact that it was unlawful to free slaves unless one followed the manumission laws. The system was operated predominantly by Quaker abolitionists. In addition to the Stanley home, he mentioned that there was a station at Guilford College. His grandfather was quite well acquainted with Levi Coffin, after the latter moved to Indiana.

The workers of the Underground Railroad were responsible for aiding many blacks to escape from slavery and start new lives in the Northern free states. It is impossible to determine just how many people were assisted by the movement but the number is thought to be between 40,000 and 100,000. The system operated successfully from 1819 to 1860 when with the coming of the Civil War there was no longer a need for it. Just as passengers disappeared and made their way on the Underground Railroad, the movement itself disappeared and faded into history. Very little was ever written about it until years after the Civil War. Our knowledge of it comes from the written reminiscences of participants and from oral tradition.

The system is important to us today as representative of some of the thoughts of nineteenth-century Americans and as a social statement. In slavery many people saw a wrong which needed to be corrected. It was an inhumane and cruel institution which denied a segment of the population individualism and freedom. Many Quakers became involved with the Underground Railroad movement because they believed that everyone should have basic freedoms and rights. Thus it was part of the human nature of Quakers and others which caused them to respond to the social needs of the enslaved even if they had to break a law to do so. Quakers can be

very proud of their heritage and their forebears' role in the Underground Railroad. They assisted blacks to attain freedom even though it meant that their views were unpopular and their lives were endangered.

1. Algie I. Newlin, private interview held at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, October, 1978.

2. William Wesley Pegg, Sr., private interview held at Greensboro, North Carolina, October, 1978.

3. Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, The Reputed President of the Underground Railroad; Being A Brief History of the Labors of a Lifetime in Behalf of the Slave, With the Stories of Numerous Fugitives, Who Gained their Freedom through his Instrumentality, and many other Incidents* (Cincinnati: Western Tract Society, 1876).

4. Katherine Hoskins, "How the Underground Railway Originated," *Greensboro Daily News*, August 7, 1932. Dr. Algie I. Newlin agreed with this location of the house.

5. Coffin, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

7. Addison Coffin, *Life and Travels of Addison Coffin* (Cleveland, Ohio: William G. Hubbard, 1897).

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 37. Saul, a slave of General Thompson, had earlier assisted Vestal Coffin in securing Benjamin Benson's freedom in connection with the trial of John Thompson.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 41. He stated that "it could fill a large book to give the principal events connected with the Underground Railroad from North Carolina from 1819 to 1852."

11. *Ibid.*

12. Addison Coffin, "Early Settlement of Friends in North Carolina," Unpublished manuscript, Quaker Room, Guilford College Library, 1894.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 123-124.

14. A. Coffin to J. W. Woody, May 14, 1894, Guilford College, Quaker Room, of Guilford College Library, Underground Railroad File.

15. Sallie W. Stockard, *The History of Guilford County, North Carolina* (Knoxville: Gaut-Ogden Co., 1902), p. 48.

16. P. M. Sherrill, "The Quakers and the North Carolina Manumission Society," *Historical Papers Published by the Trinity College Historical Society*, Series X (Durham, North Carolina: Trinity College Historical Society, 1914), pp. 49-50.

17. Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), p. 415.

18. If this home was a station, it is the cellar in the original part of the house that would have been used. This information comes from Jack Perdue, President of Historic Jamestown Society, Inc. The Society has plans for using the Mendenhall House to interpret the Underground Railroad in the South and specifically in Jamestown. Mr. Perdue did say that this particular structure can not be docu-

The Underground Railroad in Guilford County

mented as actually being a station on the Underground Railroad. Dr. Larry E. Tise, Director of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, says that even though it is not certain that the house was used as a station, there is evidence that the abolitionists Adam Crooks and Jesse McBride stayed there for a time.

19. Hilty, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

20. This count comes from an unpublished paper by Barbara Wright, North Carolina Quakers and Slavery," written in 1973. A copy of this paper is available in the Quaker Room — Guilford College Library. Mary Mendenhall Hobbs suggests that he owned as many as one hundred slaves.

21. Historic Jamestown Society, Inc., *The Farmer's Advocate and Miscellaneous Reporter*, Vol. II, no. 3, June 1976.

22. Sherrill, *loc. cit.*

23. Larry E. Tise, "Remarks at the Dedication of the Friends Meeting House and Mendenhall Store," Jamestown, North Carolina, October 21, 1978.

24. Alpheus Briggs, "Short Sketch of Beard Hat Shops," (unpublished paper, Quaker Room, Guilford College Library, n.d.)

25. Joshua Edgar Murrow, private interview held at Centre Community, Greensboro, North Carolina, November, 1978.

The Belvidere Academy

BY

Mary Raper Butt

The admonition of George Fox, that children should learn "whatsoever things were civil and useful in the creation,"¹ was implemented once again in the sessions of Eastern Quarterly Meeting, held at Little River Meeting in Perquimans County in 1833 when the proposal was made to establish a "Select School Somewhere within the limits of this quarter."² The establishment of this quarterly meeting school climaxed an effort begun in 1801, but abandoned repeatedly because of the lack of financial support.

Already there were numerous schools in the Albemarle area, but there were none that offered secondary education. Friends in their traditional pioneering spirit, and under the influence of the Holy Spirit, accepted the formidable task of planning, constructing, and operating such a school. The purpose of this paper is to trace the organization and life of this school, which much later came to be called the Belvidere Academy, and to show something of its influence on the lives of its students, and on the community, state and nation.

This resurgence of educational interest in the northeastern part of the state had its counterpart throughout North Carolina, especially among Friends, for at this time the New Garden Boarding School, later to become Guilford College, was in the planning stage and would open its doors in 1837.

The item of business referred to earlier was recorded in the minutes of the meeting as follows:

A proposition was proposed in this meeting to establish a Select School Somewhere within the limits of this quarter and to be under its direction of which this meeting approves and appoints David White, Miles White, John White, Josiah Nicholson, Joseph Elliot, Jesse Munden, Benjamin Copeland, Caleb White, Josiah Parker, Jesse Jessop, Wm. Wilson, Exum Outland, and Phineas Evans to take the subject into consideration and if they think best, select a place, and employ a teacher or teachers and put

the school in operation and report their care.³

Subsequent reports from the committee to the quarterly meeting sessions reveal their agreement as to the location but also their difficulty in procuring a qualified teacher. Finally in 1834, the following report is included in the minutes of the meeting:

Through the agency of our worthy friend Rowlan Green we have succeeded in engaging Elihu Anthony of the State of New York to take charge of our school as principal teacher, who is to be here about the 20 of next month, we have agreed to pay him \$340 find his board and pay his travelling expenses from New York the whole amount will be about \$425 per Year. We have agreed to open the school in Piney Woods meeting house until a new house is built. We have also Contracted with Elijah Griffin for a lot of land containing two or three acres for \$30 within the limits of Piney Woods Meeting and nearly Opposite David Whites Machine house, on which we propose to build a house two Stories high 40 feet long and 20 feet wide with a petition in the middle, with a chimney at each end or a stove in each of the lower rooms, the upper rooms to be occupied for bed rooms or other purposes if it Should ever be deem advisable to board the Children on the premises which will cost about \$500. . . .⁴

Some objection was raised by the body of Friends as to the proposed location of the school; otherwise, the report was approved. The committee was directed to "endeavor to get the objection obviated and to build the Contemplated house forthwith where they shall judge best. . . ."⁵ Although the site proposed by the other faction is not presently known, an objection such as this is understandable in view of the fact that the small village of Belvidere was located not in the center of the Quaker communities of the area but rather on the extreme northwestern periphery. The decision prevailed, however, and during the early years of the school, the names of Josiah Nicholson, David and Caleb White, members of the original committee and residents of the Belvidere community, figure prominently in the activities of the school. It seems evident that this nucleus of concerned individuals provided the needed impetus for this project. This zealously is perhaps further reflected by the fact that only Piney Woods Monthly Meeting, along with its offspring the Up River Monthly Meeting, remains active to this present day. It is interesting to speculate upon the extent of the

influence of the Belvidere Academy upon this condition.

In order to assure the execution of its two great objectives, a literary education and a religious one, the school committee drew up the following constitutional rules for the direction and control of the school:

1. The School shall be known by the name of the Select Boarding School of the Eastern Quarterly Meeting of N. Carolina and shall be conducted by a Committee of men and women friends appointed in the 11th mo. annually by the said Quarterly Meeting whose duty it shall be to establish such rules and regulations for the moral, religious and Literary education and government of Said School as they may in their wisdom deem best Calculated to promote and instill into the minds of the Children a Correct knowledge of the principles and doctrines of the Society of friends.

2. It shall be the duty of the Teacher or Teachers that may from time to time be employed or other Superintendents by the Committee to use their best endeavors both by their precept and example to carry into effect such rules and regulations as may be reduced to writing by said Committee Steadily having in view The two great objects — a literary and religious education.

3. The Committee shall Consist of three men and three Women Friends appointed within Piney Woods Monthly Meeting and two of each sex in each of the other mo. Meetings. It shall be the duty of those appointed at Piney Woods to visit the school regularly once a month to examine the progress of the schollars and to see that such rules as they may adopt are observed &C., the others are requested to Visit it as often as circumstances will permit, and are requested to do so at least once in three months, and it is made their duty to attend once a Year at the last regular visiting meeting preceeding the Quarterly Meeting in the eleventh Mo. at which Quarterly Meeting the Committee are required to render a more full and explicit report, embracing the improvement of the Children, the financial Concerns and all other subjects that may be interesting to the Quarterly Meeting; the Committee are to appoint the time of their own Monthly Visits and to report the state of the School every Quarter in writing and whenever a Vacancy Shall happen either by death resignation removal or by refusal or negligence to discharge his or her duty. The Committee shall report the same to the Quarterly Meeting next ensuing in order to fill such Vacancy; and if a Vacancy should occur by the death of a Teacher, indisposition or other cause, the Committee shall endeavor to keep the School in Operation.

4. There shall be a Treasurer appointed who shall receive all monies

arising from Subscriptions donations or otherwise: he shall render to them a true statement of his accounts once a Year and oftener if required by them, he shall also be called and acknowledged as a Trustee to the Quarterly Meeting for the purpose of receiving titles to land and holding property in trust for the same, he shall retain his office until a Successor is appointed by the Quarterly Meeting.

5. The price of tuition shall be three dollars per quarter or twelve dollars per Year until the Committee shall deem it advisable to lessen or raise, payable to the Treasurer quarterly by the parents or Guardians of those that are sent, and no children to be admitted into the school but those one of whose parents is a member, none being entered for a shorter time Than one quarter and twelve weeks to Constitute a quarter but in case of sickness or death of a child another may be admitted in its place.

6. Although this is called a boarding school yet parents and Guardians are for the present to board their Children in the neighborhood, but the committee shall not receive any child into the school who does not board in a family where at least one of the heads is a member, all who may desire their Children to remain in the school for a longer time than they may be entered for, must inform the Committee thereof at least one month before the expiration of said time, or they Cannot have the preference of other applicants.

7. The Committee are requested to propose any alteration to this Constitution that experience shall dictate for the better, The Quarterly Meeting reserving the right to make such alteration curtailment or addition as it may Judge best, but it confides in the Committee for the faithful performance of carrying the views of this meeting into operation so as not to be inconsistent with this constitution.

C. White⁶

As indicated by the fourth article of the constitution, the money for construction of the school was to be raised by subscription. Despite the earnest efforts of the committee, the initial amount raised was only \$400, but the committee sought and won approval to proceed on the faith and expectation that the school would prove so advantageous to Friends that the necessary financial support would be forthcoming.⁷

Only fragmentary accounts of the actual building process have survived the years. As we have seen earlier, the land containing two or three acres was purchased from Elijah Griffin for the sum of \$30. The house was to be two stories high, forty feet long and twenty feet

wide with a "petition" in the middle with a chimney in each end. David White, chairman of the school committee in 1834, reports "we prepared timber and most of the other materials for building the house proposed, the frame is now raised on the said lot and work is progressing,"⁸ and in May, 1835, "The schoolhouse is finished on the lower story except Benches for children to sit on, also that they have purchased two Stoves and put in the house."⁹

With the arrival of Elihu Anthony, the first principal teacher, the school was opened the twenty-second day of ninth month, 1833, with an enrollment of thirty pupils. Enthusiasm for the new school was running high and enrollment was expected to increase, but after a period of a few short weeks, Elihu Anthony became ill with the "bilious fever" and died shortly thereafter.¹⁰ As Friends at this point looked to their better educated northern neighbors for teachers, the school had to be temporarily closed while the committee searched for a replacement.

Meanwhile the building process continued, and in eleventh month, 1835, a new teacher, Edward S. Gifford, was secured and the school reopened with nineteen pupils. The school year proved a successful one. Thirty-two students were enrolled at the close of the session, and David White in his report to the Quarterly Meeting states, "The attention and assiduity of the teacher has given entire satisfaction to the committee and we believe to the patrons of the school."¹¹ The thirty-two students, in addition to others, were expected to return. In this report, the proposal was made that the original \$3.00 tuition fee be altered as follows: "Arithmetick, Grammar, Geography, with the use of maps, four dollars per quarter. Reading writing and Arithmetick Three Dollars, Spelling reading and writing alone, Two dollars and a half per quarter."¹²

The Quarterly Meeting made regular surveys to ascertain the number of school age children among its membership, and persons were appointed to meet with parents who failed to see the need for education or who perhaps felt that they must keep their children at home to help with the farm work. To read the minutes is to catch a glimpse of the genuine concern the meeting felt for the training of its youth.¹³

The original plans for a boarding school were reconsidered in 1836 as it became increasingly difficult to find a sufficient number of boarding places in the surrounding community. It was felt that

twelve hundred dollars would provide facilities for forty boarders and quarters for a superintendent and teachers. The Quarterly Meeting approved this recommendation and also concurred with the suggestion to admit those “not members of our Society into the school when there is room, provided they will conform to the Rules of the school in dress and address.”¹⁴

The 1836 report further stipulated that no scholars under nine years of age would be admitted, that the price of board and tuition would be sixty dollars per year, that the superintendent, teachers and children make a plain, simple appearance, and that “any applicant coming otherwise furnished, the superintendent may or shall require them to lay such garments aside and require the parents or guardians of such to furnish them with suitable clothing. . . .”¹⁵ In addition, strict rules against writing on desks, cutting of desks, benches or trees were to be enforced. The amount of \$802 was subscribed, but the matter of boarding facilities was deferred to be resumed the following year.

In May of 1837, Edward S. Gifford was called home by the death of his father, and school had to be suspended for a time. The fact that this occurred in the month of May does not mean that it was time for summer vacation for, according to the report of 1837, the school year was forty-eight weeks in length. A variation in the length of the school year was noted in the yearly reports. Such things as availability of teachers, health of the students, and needs of the parents determined the length of any given year. As free schools and then public schools came into prominence, the academies more or less fell in line with the shorter terms offered by these.¹⁶

The third teacher was Johnathan E. Steere of Rhode Island, who came to Belvidere in December, 1837. He was promised an annual salary of \$375. He taught only one month before his tragic death by drowning at Eliab’s Landing in Perquimans River. A local Friend, John R. Winslow, agreed to teach the remainder of the session, after which he planned to resume his own education. Following his departure the school was closed for the building of the addition. Upon completion of these boarding facilities, the minutes reveal the following: “We have now engaged Christopher Wilson and wife to take charge of the school as Teacher and superintendent. He is to furnish some furniture, a boy to make fires, haul wood &C. also to furnish a horse and Milch cow for the

use of the school and feed them at his expense." The financial arrangement was a combined salary of \$525 and free board. They remained only one year, but this was reported to be a good one.¹⁷

William G. Slade and his wife of New York then taught for a period of seven and one-half months and were replaced by John R. Winslow, whose capable services terminated after two years. A gift of \$200 left the school at this time by one James Griffin was used for the purchase of some needed furniture and to pay school debts.¹⁸

Around 1840, the school began to experience financial difficulty. This was due largely to the refusal of a number of the meetings to pay their portion of the school debt. As a result the quarterly meeting directed that the property either be offered to Piney Woods Monthly Meeting or be sold to an individual. Piney Woods refused the offer. The debt amounted to \$827.06 and at the urging of concerned members, it was decided to try again to raise the money by subscription, and if necessary, conduct an auction sale of chattel property. John R. Winslow agreed to teach for the "amount of accounts and sale of books" in lieu of the \$400 which he had been offered. The next few reports indicate some progress in the direction of raising the money; help from English Friends and from Baltimore Yearly Meeting Friends was noted. By February, 1842 the debt was subscribed if not all paid, and in November of that same year the school was once again self-supporting.¹⁹

The reports of the school committee for the next several years, now made to the Quarterly Meeting annually rather than quarterly, describe satisfactory progress. Teachers, now mainly local persons, were commended for their services but few remained with the school more than a year or two. Financially, the school remained barely solvent, reporting a balance of \$5.48 in the treasury three years in succession. At times a deficit was called to the attention of the Quarterly Meeting, which seemed a bit reluctant to commit itself financially to any extent in behalf of the school.²⁰

The first teacher to remain with the school for a lengthy period of service was Timothy Nicholson. This young man was the son of Josiah Nicholson, one of the original school committee members, and received his early education at the Quarterly Meeting School. He taught from 1848 to 1855, and the school flourished under his care. In 1853, he was married in Piney Woods Meeting to Sarah White, and they moved to Pennsylvania in 1858.²¹ The number of

students increased until in 1851 the report indicated an oversized student body. From the increased income, new supplies were purchased, repairs made to the property, and additions such as a smoke house, were built.²²

That the curriculum had been updated and the length of terms established is reported in the 1851 record as follows:

The Committee appointed in the 11th Month last to have the oversight and management of the Quarterly meeting School agree to present to the consideration of this meeting the following proposition namely that the School Year Should commence on the first second day in the 9th Month and be divided into two terms of 23 weeks each — the first term to be followed by a vacation of four weeks — That no Scholar be admitted for less time than a half session without special consent of the committee that the prices of Board and Tuition remain the same as at present, which are — For regular boarders \$32. per session — For those who board 5 days in the week \$22.40 for Session — Tuition for those who study only Reading Writing and Arithmetic \$6.00 For higher English branches \$8.00. For Latin and French \$12.00 and for Latin and Greek \$15.00 per Session.²³

Following the resignation of Timothy Nicholson in 1855, the school continued to do well for a few years, having a number of different teachers and superintendents. Within a short time, however, two uncontrollable factors began to affect the school at Belvidere: the spread of free schools and the approach of the Civil War. These were reflected in the following report of 1860:

The number of Scholars during the year was so small that the income for schooling, failed to meet the current expenses of the teachers. . . . The School having been so poorly patronized and the surrounding free schools being nearly all in operation at the time ours should have commenced after the summer vacation, the committee made but little effort to procure a teacher to continue it, and no contract for either teacher or superintendent have been made for the future. There seeming to be little use of keeping up the Boarding department for the present the committee thought proper to propose to the Quarterly meeting to Sell off the Chattle property belonging to the establishment and for the proceeds thereof to be appropriated towards having a competent teacher: and if any should wish to send their children from a distance let them procure board in the neighborhood. We are of the opinion that from six to eight months in the year will be as long as our school can be sustained, the free school coming in conflict with it the balance of the year.²⁴

The chattel sale held December 24, 1860 yielded \$276.26. Joseph R. Parker agreed to teach, his salary to be determined by proceeds from tuition, which was to be supplemented by the Quarterly Meeting if receipts fell below \$400.²⁵ Under these circumstances the school persisted throughout the war years. In 1865 mention was made again of a limited number of boarding students.

The reports of this period began to name the Baltimore Association as a financial contributor to the school. This association had been formed by a group of Quakers, headed by Francis T. King, a retired business man, concerned with providing food and clothing but broadened to include an interest in education primarily as a means of decreasing the rising rate of emigration of North Carolina Friends to the west. Their aid to the school at Belvidere at this particular time may have been the determining factor in keeping the school in operation.²⁶

A significant step of the association was the appointment of a superintendent to make a survey of the educational needs and to supervise the Friends' schools in North Carolina. An interesting observation is that the name "Belvidere Academy" first appeared in the diary of this first superintendent, John Scott.²⁷

During these years the teachers continued to work for tuition fees; however, twenty-five to fifty cents was deducted from each fee for the purpose of warming the building and keeping it in repair. The elementary fee in 1865 was \$4.50; the upper classes paid \$5.50 for a three-month term. The aid from Baltimore Friends, ranging from \$100 to \$150 per month was used mainly to aid indigent pupils, but in some cases, for supplies such as maps and other teaching aids.²⁸

The years following the war were good ones for the school. Baltimore Friends continued to furnish scholarship aid and in 1869 the school report showed the largest attendance ever — fifty to fifty-five students on the roll.²⁹ The 1870 report covered an extensive renovation of the building. The kitchen no longer needed for boarders was detached and removed. The lower story was converted into three rooms: one twenty-seven feet by thirty-three feet to be used for a main school room; one recitation room, twelve feet by eighteen feet, occupied by the assistant teacher; and an entry room twelve feet by fifteen feet. The upper story was converted into one large room suitable as a class room or for holding meetings,

religious and literary. New desks were purchased. The school continued to be self-sustaining but by 1875 attendance was down, and the free schools were cited as the cause of the condition.³⁰

In 1883 the report read:

Your committee have Elizabeth A. White and Mary J. White engaged as teachers for the present year, and upon the same general terms as with previous Teachers. The school opened by them on 1st of Fourth month and with a good attendance.³¹

This team of dedicated teachers was destined to launch the school into its most successful period. Apparently, they worked together for a period of some eight years, and Mary J. White then served the school as principal or as teacher until her death in 1909, a total period of twenty-one years. A brief resume of the school, written by an unknown individual, honored her with these words:

Most outstanding among the instructors of this school was Mary J. White whose fine capabilities and beautiful life were of untold influence and inspiration to the many young lives which came under her guidance during the twenty-one years of faithful service as teacher or principal of this the most patronized institution of its kind in the Albemarle.³²

Despite competition from the free public schools, attendance grew under the leadership and care of these two teachers and a number of others who served terms of varying length during the remaining years of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth. In 1884 a reference is made in the yearly meeting minutes as to the effectiveness of the school. "The advanced schools such as Belvidere are doing excellent work . . . Let all who would educate their children be too wise to practice that ruinously false economy of preferring the so-called cheap teacher."³³ Under the supervision of Mary J. White, the curriculum was enlarged so as to qualify a graduate of the Belvidere Academy for entrance in any college of the state.³⁴

Proceedings were begun by the Quarterly Meeting in 1895 to have the school property transferred to Piney Woods Monthly Meeting. The minutes read: "The committee appointed in 11th mo. last to see that a proper transfer of the school property at Belvidere, Perq. Co., N.C. was made to Piney Wds. mo. mt. report that they have attended to that duty."³⁵ The minutes of Piney Woods Monthly Meeting, December 1, 1894, state that the Monthly

Meeting was "fully united in accepting said property,"³⁶ and Walter White, Elihu A. White, Wm. T. Winslow and William H. Lamb plus a comparable number of women were named to have the care of the school for the next year.

Enrollment rose to unprecedented heights, and in 1902 we find this statement: "At a meeting of the committee held first month 10th, 1902 it was thought the time had now come when an effort would be made to secure funds for the purpose of erecting a new school building." Several young women were named to solicit subscriptions, Emma H. White and Josiah Nicholson were directed to prepare a suitable letter to be sent to former students asking for contributions, and Elizabeth W. Nicholson was asked to write a suitable letter to "a few wealthy Friends known to be interested in education and whose ancestors lived within the limits of Eastern Quarterly Meeting."³⁷

The response was gratifying, and by 1903 a sum of two thousand dollars was subscribed. The minutes stated:

Material for building is being purchased and placed upon the ground and it is now expected to commence work on the next building in ten days. It is proposed to erect a house 70 × 31 feet with two stories. The rooms on first floor for school purposes and the second story to utilized as a large Hall in which meetings commencement exercises at close of school year and other suitable exercises may be held.³⁸

The cornerstone was laid November 20, 1903, according to fragmentary records and one Congressman Small delivered an appropriate address.³⁹

In 1904 the new school building was equipped with desks and blackboards and was ready for use at the beginning of the second term. The minutes stated that

The building committee proceeded with the erection of the new Building as proposed in report of last year and completed the same except the upper story, and we recommend the committee be authorized to finish the room in second story. The probable cost to finish the same will be in the neighborhood of \$100. The expense of the Building to this time is \$2824.30.

The committee was encouraged to finish the upper room as soon as possible. The attendance that year was one hundred and thirty-one.⁴⁰

Upon completion of the building, Josiah Nicholson, still active and very much interested in the school, prepared these words of dedication:

This beautiful and commodious structure is the result of the labors of that committee, which we now dedicate to the cause of education with the inspiring hope that the present and future generations of young people may reap bountifully of the fruits of our labors, as we have done in the past from the living and maintaining such a noble Institution as has been the Friend's school at Belvidere, N. C.⁴¹

A brand new school building with Mary J. White as its principal meant success for Belvidere Academy for several years. The 1905 report notes "Belvidere Academy closed with an interesting entertainment for a large company of patrons and visitors all comfortably seated in the new auditorium just completed."⁴²

The 1906 report stated that one hundred and thirty-seven students were on the roll, the largest number in the history of the school,⁴³ but the following year the curriculum was revised as it seemed too demanding for the needs of the students. There were only two graduates that year: Ira G. Ward and Herbert Miller. These graduates were awarded diplomas, the first in the history of the school. Dr. Richard Dillard of Edenton, a former student, gave an interesting and entertaining address.⁴⁴

The only graduate the following year was Mary Isabella White. By this time there was an established scholarship to Guilford College for the student graduating with the highest average.⁴⁵

At this point the annual reports to the Monthly Meeting begin to show increased concern about the competition of the public school movement, and in 1914 the Academy was sold to the county commissioners for use as a public school. According to Zora Klain, "Under the control and direction of the Quakers of the Eastern Quarterly Meeting, the Quarterly Meeting School had offered instruction to more than 2500 children for a yearly term of an average length of about seven months from the time of its establishment in 1834 to 1914."⁴⁶

Although the school was no longer the responsibility of Friends, many of the teachers were members of the Society, and the school continued to offer ten to eleven years of good moral and literary training to its students. On May 2, 1935, while the school was in

session, the building, a wooden structure, caught fire and quickly burned to the ground. No one was injured. The county paper, *The Perquimans Weekly*, carried a tribute to the Belvidere Academy. It read, in part, as follows:

History of School recovered from metal box in cornerstone. Founded in 1833 many prominent people of this section were once students of the old Academy.

From the ruins of the old Belvidere Academy which went up in flames and came down in ashes, secure in its metal box in the cornerstone of the new building erected in 1903 to take the place of the original building, was taken a record of the origin, and a resume of the life of the institution up to that time, together with a list of the teachers who had taught there since its organization in 1833, and a list of the names of the pupils enrolled in the school in 1903.

Belvidere Academy was for generations the seat of learning for this entire section, and boys and girls were sent from far and near to this school. Never during its existence a large school, yet it numbered among its students boys and girls who became men and women of prominence.

Former Congressman T. G. Skinner of Hertford, who died a quarter a century ago, was a student of Belvidere Academy. At least two Superior Court judges of North Carolina, Hon. Jonathan Albertson and Hon. Geo. W. Ward, were once students there, so was also the late Dr. Richard Dillard of Edenton, and Dr. Mathew White Perry, now a prominent surgeon of Washington, D.C., and Dr. Archie Riddick, also of Washington, D.C., who is a noted diagnostician.⁴⁷

1. *Faith and Practice of North Carolina Yearly Meeting* (1962), p. 41.

2. Eastern Quarterly Meeting Minutes, August 31, 1833, Guilford College Quaker Collection.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, August 30, 1834.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, November 29, 1834.

9. *Ibid.*, May 30, 1835.

10. *Ibid.*, November 29, 1834.

11. *Ibid.*, February 27, 1836.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, November 28, 1835.

14. *Ibid.*, November 26, 1836.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*, November 24, 1838.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*, August 28, 1841.
19. *Ibid.*, November 26, 1842.
20. *Ibid.*, November 27, 1847.
21. William Wade Hinshaw, comp., *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, 7 vols. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, 1936), 1:14-64.
22. Eastern Quarterly Meeting Minutes, November 25, 1848.
23. *Ibid.*, August 28, 1852.
24. *Ibid.*, November 24, 1860.
25. *Ibid.*, November 30, 1861.
26. Zora Klain, *Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1924), p. 250.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
28. Eastern Quarterly Meeting Minutes, November 25, 1865.
29. *Ibid.*, November 27, 1869.
30. *Ibid.*, November 26, 1870.
31. *Ibid.*, November 24, 1883.
32. "Belvidere," Guilford College Quaker Collection.
33. North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, August, 1884.
34. Klain, *op. cit.*, p. 136.
35. Eastern Quarterly Meeting Minutes, November 30, 1895.
36. Piney Woods Monthly Meeting Minutes, December 1, 1894.
37. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1902.
38. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1903.
39. Belvidere Papers, Guilford College Quaker Collection.
40. Piney Woods Monthly Meeting Minutes, June 4, 1904.
41. "Belvidere," *op. cit.*
42. Piney Woods Monthly Meeting Minutes, June 3, 1905.
43. *Ibid.*, June 2, 1906.
44. *Ibid.*, June 1, 1907.
45. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1908.
46. Klain, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
47. *The Perquimans Weekly*, May 10, 1935.

Recent Books

Jordan, Paula Stahls. *Women of Guilford County, North Carolina: A Study of Women's Contributions, 1740-1979*. Kathy Warden Manning, Researcher. Greensboro: Women of Guilford, 1979. \$7.75.

Women of Guilford County, North Carolina, is an ambitious project that may be unique in presenting a women's history for a particular county. It would be more accurate to say that it presents the history of Guilford County by focusing on the contributions of its outstanding female citizens. However it is viewed the book should be of interest to North Carolinians, to women, and especially to students of Quaker history.

Indeed, the introduction to the book remarks on the "surprisingly flexible intellectual and social climate in parts of the county, traceable in large part to the influence of early Quaker settlements." The authors speculate that the county "may have been unique in the South" because of the unparalleled opportunities afforded women to play significant roles in its life. The opening narrative of the legend of Ann the Huntress from the New Garden community points to this very early view of female autonomy, self reliance, and strength. Women on the North Carolina frontier were dependent in law, but nearly equal in function. Among Friends they were socially equal as well, and were active in establishing schools and serving as ministers.

Outstanding among early Quaker women were Hannah Millikan Blair, who nursed the sick and wounded while giving birth to a baby each year of the American Revolution; Ann Matthews Floyd Jessup, who tended wounded after the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, was a minister, introduced alfalfa to North America, and propagated flowers and shrubs throughout the Piedmont; and Dolley Payne Todd Madison, First Lady and woman of intelligence, wit, and competence.

Friends were active in establishing schools for both girls and boys as early as 1758. Ascenath Hunt Clark was an early superintendent of New Garden Boarding School (now Guilford College), begun in 1837 with a student body equally divided between boys and girls. Margaret Davis and Penelope Gardner founded Florence Female Academy, and Abigail W. Hill (later Mendenhall) served as its principal. Other members of the

Mendenhall family also established schools, both Quaker and non-Quaker, that were active in the education of women. Another Friend, Abigail Albertson, began the Springfield Friends Sabbath School in 1818.

The book documents the activities of Quaker women, black and white, including Vina Curry, Althea Flukes Coffin, and Delphinia Gardner Mendenhall, who were active in the work of the Underground Railroad. It tells of Quaker women educators such as Amanda Buffington Richardson, Ada and Emma Blair, Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, and Gertrude Whittier Mendenhall; and in more recent days, Virginia Ragsdale, Alice Paige White and Ernestine Cookson Milner. It describes the religious work of Francis Webbs Bumpass and Mary Cox Meador Courtland, who was both a Quaker evangelist and a temperance leader. It details the many facets of the life of Clara Cox, Friends minister and advocate of racial equality, woman's suffrage, temperance, peace, missions, and care of the poor. It tells of contemporary Quaker women, such as Helen Robertson Wohl, first woman to run for public office in North Carolina, and Eldora Haworth Terrell, prominent High Point physician. In all forty-two Quaker women are mentioned, although not all are identified as Friends. The book also contains excellent general discussions of Quakers and sexual equality, Friends and slavery, Quaker migration, the Baltimore Association of Friends, and the influence on Guilford County of its Quaker heritage.

The Quaker focus of this review should not obscure the fact that the book is about all the women of Guilford. In fact there is an interesting shift evident, sometime in this century, from Quaker to Jewish prominence among Guilford County women. Indeed the cosponsorship of the study by local chapters of the National Council of Jewish Women is further evidence of this shift. It is of course possible that fewer contemporary Quaker women are identified as such by the author, but it would appear that their leadership is not being felt as strongly as it once was.

Women of Guilford County is, as its publicity states, "written for the general reading public." Unlike many other books, it is the product of a non-profit organization, the Greensboro Commission on the Status of Women, that depends upon sales to recover costs. Libraries, schools, meetings, organizations, and individuals may (should!) purchase copies in their local bookstores (in Guilford County) or by mail from Women of Guilford, P.O. Box 5034, Greensboro, NC 27403.

Damon D. Hickey
Guilford College

DeBenedetti, Charles. *The Origins of the Modern American Peace Movement, 1915-1929*. Millwood, N. Y.: KTO Press, 1978. \$15.00.

This extraordinary work of scholarship transcends the limits of historical narrative and offers penetrating insights into the nature of the problem of peace in our contemporary age. With deftness and some style, Professor DeBenedetti makes us aware again that peace, properly conceived, depends upon order rooted in justice. Yet he clearly delineates between those who have conceived the tasks of diplomacy under imperatives of *peace* so defined, and those whose central concern has been not peace, but *essential stability* conceived in terms of balances of power and the brokering among nations of narrowly defined self-interests. Competition between these two often mutually exclusive views characterizes not only the political environment with which the book deals, but also our present situation in which once more America is reappraising the dimensions of reasonable expectations and the nature of prudent foreign policy behavior.

Professor DeBenedetti appropriately begins his study in the midst of the Great War of 1914-1918, for that war demonstrated the validity of liberal skepticism of the traditional balance of power system in Europe, the necessity of peace in an era of total war, and, nonetheless, the sobering truth that men and nations are disposed to act toward one another in ways contrary to reason and conscience. At the core of the emergent peace movement was not only an appreciation of the urgency of peace, but also an awareness that the ideal of peace must be given concrete specificity in political programs grounded in the nature of people as they are, and not simply as they might become. How the various segments of the movement sought to translate their common peace ideal into practicable action defined their individual uniqueness and determined the sort of difficulties they each faced.

Three main strategies are identified within the postwar peace movement. Supported by such institutions as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the most conservative group sought improved international stability through a legalistic approach seeking to bind down war through treaty processes. For Elihu Root and others, this was an appropriate strategy for power management, if not peace. For liberal internationalists, however, it was a systemic malfunction, correctable through international organizations such as the League of Nations, capable of managing change in peaceful ways. More diffuse in focus and diverse in origins were the social progressives for whom, generally, peace was only one aspect of broadly gauged reform programs. From the "painfully realistic" to the "painfully utopian," progressives treated war as

social sin, and attacked it as such through reform politics conceived as the highest form of moral endeavor.

Advocates of these strategies ranged from Old Guard Republicans to world-order planners to principled pacifists to leftist social-scientific engineers. Still they all gravitated toward confidence in the "primacy of human reason and goodness," shared the conviction that "Western man was passing through a critical watershed," and believed a hopeful future depended upon America's willingness "to discharge its proper global responsibility." The tenuousness or frustration of these convictions in our political culture did much to keep the multiform peace movement largely on the fringes of interwar American foreign policy. Yet this book, tribute to their abiding contributions to that culture, makes fascinating and instructive reading.

Of greatest interest to this journal's readership may be DeBenedetti's chapter, "The Peace Reform and Social Progressives." It is divided into sections on progressive peace reformers of the immediate postwar period, social feminists and peace activism, the peacekeeping of organized Protestantism, and liberal pacifists in the early 1920s. The last section contains a brief discussion of the AFSC, which, he observes, "stood as a bright signal of the revitalizing Quaker peace tradition. After a half century of quietism, the America Quaker community was reworking its pacifist testimony into the everyday struggle for peace and justice."

William E. Schmickle
Guilford College

Tully, Alan. *William Penn's Legacy: Politics and Social Structure in Providential Pennsylvania, 1726-1755*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977. \$14.00.

Colonial Pennsylvania was surely as diverse in its population as any American province. William Penn welcomed not only his own, English Quakers, but also the many dissenting groups of the European continent, who were eventually followed in turn by the ubiquitous Ulster Scots ("Scotch-Irish") and others. It was Penn's Quaker notion, rare in his time and only recently embraced by Americans as a whole, that a commonwealth founded upon diversity mutually tolerated would be more stable than a society based upon enforced uniformity of religious belief or practice. Alan Tully's study of Pennsylvania politics in the last three decades of Quaker dominance admirably confirms Penn's judgment.

Tully, who teaches history at the University of British Columbia, began his research as a test of Bernard Bailyn's conflict interpretation of

colonial politics, that the multifaceted and competing interest groups of the American provinces made for an unstable climate characterized by divisiveness and factionalism. The relative peacefulness of Pennsylvania's political arena from 1726 to 1755 may not prove Bailyn wrong, but it may suggest that something extraordinary was at work there and then.

Tully notes only three points of serious controversy during the period: the Keithian disputes of the seventeen-twenties, the conflict between Governor Thomas and the Assembly in the early seventeen-forties, and Thomas Penn's challenge to the Assembly's power of revenue appropriation in the early seventeen-fifties. After each, Tully notes, politics quickly returned to a normal, peaceful state. He attributes the irenic atmosphere to a sense of order in the colony, so that one knew where opponents stood, how they would react, and how far they could go. He also perceives a social, economic, political, and cultural environment that made conflict resolution without division possible. Most basic, for Tully, was the strong, general commitment to peace and concord as political values. These values he sees as one of the results of the political dominance of Friends.

The Quakers succeeded in dominating the political arena despite their minority within the population largely because of their own unity. This unity, Tully states, was characterized within the Society of Friends by consensus, the insistence upon taking only those courses of action for which general approval existed; and deference, the willingness of Friends to seek out and often to concede to the opinions of leading, "weighty" Friends. Quaker unity was fostered by a number of other factors, including a strong sense of identity as a religious sect within the larger society, a powerful commitment to the values of unity and harmony, membership in an international religious society that give a larger perspective to local disputes, kinship ties, the traveling ministry, and a common definition of the behavioral conditions of membership, combined with the absence of a harshly punitive attitude toward offenders. It was because these Quakerly attitudes and characteristics were evident to the larger community that Friends were trusted by non-Friends with the governance of the colony. "Quaker history," says Tully, "is rife with examples of how, as matters of principle, Friends preferred the peace of concession to the unity of sectarian purity." Only when Friends were finally forced, in 1755, to face squarely the issue of supporting military defense measures other than those required by the crown, did their inner disagreements become matters of public dissent, costing them their political unity and their dominance.

It is Tully's contention that what was true of Pennsylvania's provincial politics was likely true of other colonies also, that political stability may

have been more the rule than the exception. He rightly notes that the debate over whether instability outweighed stability at any given time and place is partly a matter of perspective and emphasis. He might also have added that, for those writing about their own times, division and conflict often loom larger than harmony and stability.

Tully's book is a fascinating piece of research that surely deserves the attention of historians. It suffers from a number of minor errors of proofreading and even of citation; some of the notes in particular appear not to have been revised since Tully wrote his original dissertation, while the "Bibliographic Essay" seems to be more nearly current in its information. For Friends the book should hold a special interest because it describes the only time that Quakers exercised political dominance over a major government for an extended period. It is therefore a study in depth of the application of the politics of conscience to the art of government. In trying to maintain harmony within their own society, to bear witness to their concerns and testimonies, and to govern a province of an empire, these Friends finally concluded that their faith was not compatible with governmental responsibility. Yet in matters that did not involve deep issues of conscience, they demonstrated a means of resolving conflicts that still deserves to be studied and imitated. Alan Tully has greatly assisted us in that study.

Damon D. Hickey
Guilford College

Mekeel, Arthur J. *The Relation of the Quakers to the American Revolution*. Washington: University Press of America, 1979. \$12.00.

For the past forty years, Arthur J. Mekeel's dissertation on "The Society of Friends (Quakers) and the American Revolution," written at Harvard University under the direction of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., has formed part of the very foundation of scholarship on Quakers in America. It was, and is, a magnificent piece of work. Deeply sympathetic to the Quakers, Mekeel nonetheless delineated the many shades of Quaker involvement in the politics and warfare of the Revolution. More deeply than any other study of the Revolution from that period, he examined in very great detail the financial, administrative, logistical, procurement, and legal dilemmas which the presence of large numbers of Quakers in various parts of the rebelling colonies created for patriot state governments and for the continental Congress. The scholarly works of Sydney V. James, Peter Brock, Richard Bauman, Robert F. Oaks, Mack Thompson, and R. A. Ryerson on Quakers in the Revolution simply could

not have achieved the level of insight and sophistication they possess without Mekeel's pioneering scholarship.

In this typescript offset revision of that dissertation, all students of Quaker history now have Mekeel's great narrative conveniently at hand. His readers will be grateful that the author, who to my knowledge has not been engaged in academic life since receiving his Ph.D., has taken the trouble to bring his study to publication. One small critical complaint, regrettably, must be made. The preface does not warn unwary readers that this book was written prior to World War II. To be sure, the author has updated the text by citing modern Quaker scholarship at appropriate points in the text; and by identifying the current repository of manuscripts he examined elsewhere in the nineteen-thirties; but the book remains what it was in 1940 — a heavily institutional study of a sort which flourished between the World Wars. Its focus is on legislation and public controversy affecting the Quakers. A more candid preface explaining what it felt like to be a young Quaker scholar — imbued by the idealism of the Progressive interpretation of history, stirred by the excitement and tensions of the New Deal era, and troubled by the growing spectre of approaching global war — would have been immensely helpful to modern readers, especially undergraduates who have never heard of Arthur Mekeel or worse yet have never heard of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Senior.

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Volume II, Number 2

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The publication committee is interested in receiving articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in North Carolina and the adjacent geographical area. Articles must be well written and thoroughly documented. Papers on family history should not be submitted. All copy, including footnotes, *should be typed double-space. Articles and correspondence should be sent to:* Herbert Poole, Co-editor; Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C. 27410

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Cover illustration is the logo adopted by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society from the John Collins lithograph of the New Garden Friends Meeting House of 1791. Courtesy of the Quaker Collection, Guilford College.

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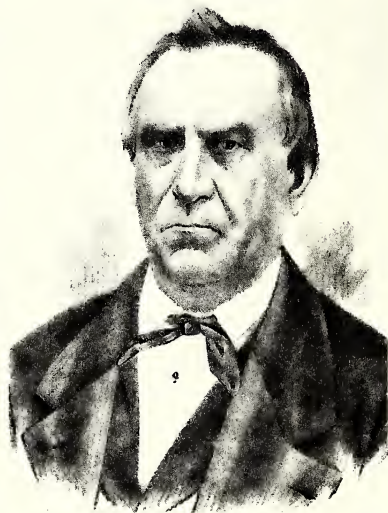
The Evolution of an Abolitionist: Daniel Worth and the Friends of North Carolina

BY

Thomas D. Hamm

THE STORY of the Quaker crusade against slavery in America has been told many times, both in scholarly literature and in popular accounts which make the fearless, serene Quaker the firmest friend of the slave fleeing to freedom.¹ Quaker attitudes toward slavery and the means by which it could be best eliminated were, however, far from static. They changed in response to circumstances both within and outside the Society of Friends.² This was particularly true of the Friends of North Carolina, "a little band of antislavery abolitionists in the midst of slave territory."³ Such a situation produced some remarkable antislavery leaders. One of the most interesting was a birthright Friend turned Methodist whose long antislavery career mirrors changes not only in the antislavery movement but in the response of North Carolina Friends to it, the Reverend Daniel Worth.

Daniel Worth was born in Guilford County, North Carolina May 3, 1795, the son of Job and Rhoda (Macy) Worth and the grandson of emigrants from Nantucket who had arrived in the piedmont shortly before the Revolution.⁴ In 1822 he and his family



*Daniel Worth ca. 1860,
Courtesy of the Archives of the
Wesleyan Church, Marion, Indiana.*

left North Carolina for Indiana, eventually finding a home in Randolph County in the east-central part of the state.⁵ Worth took an early interest in public affairs. Before leaving North Carolina he served as a Guilford County magistrate. In Indiana he was elected to three terms in the lower house of the state legislature and one in the state senate, where he distinguished himself with his opposition to anti-Negro legislation.⁶ By 1840 Worth was actively involved in the antislavery movement in Indiana. He went on to serve as president of the Indiana Anti-Slavery Society, as a national leader in the antislavery Wesleyan Methodist Church, and as an abolitionist missionary in Kentucky and North Carolina. His activities in the latter state, along with his subsequent trial for distributing incendiary literature, brought him national attention.⁷

A search for the origins of Daniel Worth's antislavery convictions leads inevitably to his early life among the Friends of Guilford and Randolph Counties, who were leaders in North Carolina's antislavery activities. They were the moving spirits in the organization of the North Carolina Manumission Society in 1816, and in conjunction with the Yearly Meeting of Friends aided in the removal of freed slaves to Indiana and Ohio.⁸ As late as 1860 many Southerners looked upon the area as an "abolition nest."⁹ Apparently this antislavery ferment affected the entire Worth family to some degree. When the Manumission Society was founded in 1816 Job Worth and his brothers David and Zeno were among the charter members, while all of the children of Job and Rhoda Worth were involved in antislavery work in North Carolina or Indiana.¹⁰ Daniel Worth stated in an 1860 speech that he had begun his own battle against slavery at the age of eighteen after reading the works of Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry with his family's encouragement.¹¹

Worth's relationship with the Society of Friends at this time is much less clear, since the records of Center Monthly Meeting, of which he was a member, have been lost for this period. The surviving evidence indicates a distinct lack of harmony. One account says that as a youth Worth was lax in his religious outlook, behavior which would have resulted in immediate disownment.¹² Certainly Worth had left the Society by the time he emigrated to Indiana, having "married out of unity" the Methodist Elizabeth Swaim in 1818 and served as a justice of the peace, both of which

were violations of Friends' discipline.¹³ Worth remained outside the sphere of organized religion until he became a Methodist in 1831.¹⁴

Insofar as antislavery activities were concerned, however, Worth's relationship with the Friends seems to have been amiable. The North Carolina Manumission Society was essentially a Quaker enterprise; one author had concluded that the Friends made up eighty percent of its membership.¹⁵ Another member later recalled that so intimate was the relationship between the Manumissionists and the Friends that the former would not even bother to seek permission to use meetinghouses but assumed it.¹⁶ On one occasion when a meeting of ministers and elders conflicted with a session of the Manumission Society, the Friends vacated the building for the use of the antislavery men.¹⁷

The activities of the North Carolina Manumission Society have been described and analyzed too often to require repetition here. Committees were established to communicate with other antislavery organizations, to prepare statements of principles and addresses for publication, and to petition the state legislature and Congress "on behalf of the people of color held in slavery."¹⁸ Essentially, however, the Manumission Society was a moderate organization, at least by later abolitionist standards. Its goal was the gradual abolition of slavery, and for a time it even embraced colonization as a suitable means to that end.¹⁹

Daniel Worth did not play a leading role in the Manumission Society. Nonetheless, at a meeting held at Center in Guilford County April 27, 1818 he and Joseph Hunt, a prominent Friend and son of the influential minister Nathan Hunt, were given the rather important task of preparing "an essay tending to develop the views of (the) Society."²⁰ No record, unfortunately, has survived of their report. The records do show, however, that through the year 1820 Daniel Worth was almost always present at quarterly meetings as a delegate from Center, which surely may be taken as an indication of commitment on his part.

What is most significant about this phase of Daniel Worth's career is that it seems to identify him as a gradual abolitionist in harmony with the North Carolina Friends. It is unlikely that he would have served so often as a delegate from Center had he been at odds with his Quaker neighbors. Throughout his life Worth paid tribute to the antislavery work of the Friends in this period. He

looked back upon it as a kind of golden age when free discussion of the question was not only tolerated but encouraged.²¹ That Worth was a moderate is less apparent but undoubtedly true. No hint of immediate emancipation or of the uncompromising attitude which was supposedly the abolitionist trademark appears in Worth's early life. In the only controversy which hinted of a conservative-liberal split, the Manumission Society's stand on colonization, the Center group advocated a pro-colonization stance. Worth, furthermore, stood by the Society when some members withdrew in protest of the colonization scheme.²²

Thus in his early life the moderate antislavery beliefs of Daniel Worth and the Friends of North Carolina coincided. When Worth ceased his participation in the Manumission Society's activities for unknown reasons in 1820, he would not return to organized antislavery work for twenty years. When he did it would be with a new outlook which would bring him into conflict with many of his former associates.

When Daniel Worth returned to active work in the cause of emancipation as president of the Indiana Anti-Slavery Society in 1840, both his own antislavery views and the nature of opposition to slavery had changed. No longer would Worth be content with seeking gradual emancipation. The emphasis was now upon immediate abolition of the institution. Walter Edgerton, one of Worth's Indiana co-workers, summed up this transformation:

While all others had advocated a system of gradual emancipation, these boldly took the ground that nothing short of immediate emancipation could satisfy the demands of justice, and fulfill the righteous law of God—as slavery was a sin, it was the duty of all engaged to cease immediately, and there could be nothing to fear from the consequences of immediately so doing.²³

Worth was an enthusiastic supporter of the new philosophy of "immediatism," as evidenced by his presidency of the local Economy Anti-Slavery Society and the Indiana Anti-Slavery Society, both immediatist.²⁴

Direct inspiration for Worth's renewed interest in antislavery work was apparently provided by the radical New England abolitionist Arnold Buffum, who had arrived in Indiana in 1839 to organize the Quakers in the east-central portion of the state into

antislavery societies. At least one contemporary credits Buffum's "malign" influence with Worth's conversion.²⁵ A more thorough analysis, however, finds deeper roots for Worth's commitment in his previous antislavery work and subsequent travels in the South. He possessed an acute sense of the inhumanity inherent in human slavery. He wrote with great feeling of his memories of the "woe begotten countenances and lacerated backs" he had seen on slaves, and summed up the Southern plantation experience as "beatings, maimings, starvings, and brandings."²⁶

Equally important was Worth's religious faith. Much has been written about the importance of evangelical religion in the anti-slavery movement. It was a definite influence on Worth's thought. He thought men essentially sinful creatures who, when given absolute power over other men, as was the case with slavery, would fall into sinful ways, abusing their charges both physically and morally. The duty of the regenerate was to show men the error of such ways.²⁷ Thus battling slavery became a Christian duty in which ultimate victory was assured. As Worth told one slaveholder who argued that slavery would endure forever: "Sir, slavery must die because God Almighty lives!"²⁸

As a Christian battling sin, Worth looked with abhorrence upon any group which temporized in regard to slavery. Thus in 1843 he and other Indiana abolitionists withdrew from the Methodist Church to help form the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America, which did not admit slaveholders to membership and made abolitionist activities a duty. Thus the purity of "an uncompromising Gospel" was preserved.²⁹

Meanwhile, Worth viewed with interest a similar situation which had developed among the Friends of Indiana Yearly Meeting and which came to a head in the winter of 1842-1843. Abolition was a radical solution to the problem of slavery, and as such horrified many conservatives.³⁰ The controlling forces within Indiana Yearly Meeting, men like its Clerk, Elijah Coffin, and ministers and elders like William Hobbs and Jeremiah Hubbard, were of North Carolina background and conservative by nature. Many, particularly Coffin, had colonization sympathies.³¹ Simultaneously they feared Friends joining with "outsiders" in antislavery societies would endanger the status of Friends as a "peculiar people," although the more radical members of the Yearly Meeting claimed that their conservative

opponents were mostly merchants and manufacturers fearful of losing their Southern customers.³² The conservatives began their campaign against radical abolition in the autumn of 1840 with a minute from the Yearly Meeting warning against participation in antislavery societies, while in 1841 meetinghouses were ordered closed to abolitionist meetings. The final straw came in the 1842 yearly meeting when eight strident abolitionists were removed from the Meeting for Sufferings, the executive committee for the Yearly Meeting.³³ This came on top of what abolitionist Friends saw as unbearable affronts, such as the condemnation by the conservatives of the abolitionist newspaper, the *Free Labor Advocate*, published at the village of Newport in Wayne County as the organ of the Indiana Anti-Slavery Society, and the warm welcome given the "slaveowning duelist" Henry Clay by the conservatives when he visited Richmond during the Yearly Meeting sessions.³⁴ Thus the radicals bolted and early in 1843 organized Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends.³⁵

Although Worth was no longer a Friend and undoubtedly occupied with his own affairs as a newly ordained minister among the Wesleyans, he was interested in the affairs of the Anti-Slavery Friends. His sister Lydia was the wife of Isaiah Osborn, the son of Charles Osborn, one of the radical leaders; another sister, Mary, was the wife of Elihu Swain, Junior, whose father had been among the founders of the East Tennessee Manumission Society.³⁶ Both sisters and their husbands went with the seceders, Elihu Swain, Junior causing a major confrontation within Springfield Monthly Meeting by refusing to turn over the record books of which he had custody, arguing that the radicals were the true Society of Friends.³⁷

A remarkable degree of cooperation existed between the Wesleyans and the Anti-Slavery Friends. The two sects had much in common. Both were pacifistic, antislavery, and reformist; many Wesleyans were, like Worth, former Quakers.³⁸ In Greensboro in Henry County they shared a common building for their services; in Newport, when the antislavery Friends were denied the use of the orthodox meetinghouse they turned to the Wesleyans, who gave them the use of their chapel.³⁹ When the eminent New England Wesleyan, Orange Scott, visited Newport in August, 1845 he found the Wesleyans and radical Quakers in perfect harmony. He wrote to a friend in New York City:

... all the members of the conferences have been hospitably entertained, some of them in the families of Friends or Quakers, who by the way are numerous here and strongly anti-slavery. They too have seceded from the old body on account of its do-nothing and anti-abolition on the question of slavery. They are, of course, friendly to the Wesleyans. God bless them!⁴⁰

This is all the more remarkable when it is taken into consideration that area Methodists and Friends had traditionally been on poor terms.⁴¹ The fact that both groups had seceded from a larger and older organization seems to have provided another common bond. Worth himself presided over many antislavery meetings during which secession was lauded and the Methodists and orthodox Friends were blasted.⁴²

Worth's ire against the conservative Friends seems to have reached its height in the autumn of 1845. A committee of four distinguished English Quakers—William and Josiah Forster, George Stacy, and John Allen—had arrived in Indiana with the purpose of effecting a reconciliation within the Yearly Meeting.⁴³ The separatists, however, were dismayed when the four proposed to accomplish this through the unconditional return of the Anti-Slavery Friends to the "Body," as the older group was referred to. This injury was compounded when the Englishmen refused to deal with the seceders in an official capacity or even to recognize them as an organization.⁴⁴

Worth, himself a separatist, was disgusted by the attitude of the Forsters and their compatriots. In October, 1845 the Anti-Slavery Friends held their own yearly meeting in Newport, apparently to coincide with the annual convention of the Indiana Anti-Slavery Society. Both groups issued invitations to the visitors to attend their sessions. Apparently from deference to the feelings of the "Body," both were declined. The English Friends instead limited themselves to a social call on the aged minister Charles Osborn, who had traveled in Europe, and a brief interview with some of the leading seceders at the home of Levi Coffin.⁴⁵ Incensed by their conduct, at the evening session of the Anti-Slavery Society convention on October 13 Worth gave up the chair to denounce the deputation. Scoring them for hypocrisy for professing to be abolitionists while refusing to associate with those who sought that end in America, Worth concluded by moving a series of resolutions characterizing

the English Friends as "temporizing, hypocritical, cringing and servile characters, without moral courage." The resolutions passed unanimously.⁴⁶

Worth's attack on the Englishmen in the 1845 convention seems to have marked the climax of his association with the Anti-Slavery Friends. Thereafter he largely devoted himself to his own church and to antislavery politics. It was not until 1857 that he would again come into contact with Friends as a group, and then it would not be in cooperation or even as a partisan of one faction against another. It would be in open conflict.

Daniel Worth returned to North Carolina in the autumn of 1857. Then in his sixties, "venerable" in appearance and a seasoned abolitionist, Worth was one of the foremost ministers in the Wesleyan denomination. It was in keeping with his stature that he took up the post of the sole Wesleyan minister in North Carolina.

A few antislavery faithful still remained in Worth's old home; at one time in the 1840's a group of them had even considered the publication of an abolitionist newspaper.⁴⁷ Among these were some Methodists in Jamestown in Guilford County who in 1847 had organized themselves as a Wesleyan church. They were served for a time by two Wesleyan missionaries from Ohio, Jesse McBride and Adam Crooks, but by the autumn of 1851 both had been arrested on charges of circulating incendiary literature and had been harried out of the state by mobs.⁴⁸ The native minister who replaced them proved unsatisfactory, so Daniel Worth was called as his successor.⁴⁹

Worth returned to North Carolina with a double commission, serving not only as pastor of the Guilford Circuit of the Zanesville Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America but also as North Carolina Agent of the American Missionary Association. The A.M.A. was an organization made up largely of evangelical Northern abolitionists dedicated to antislavery missionary work in the South. Worth had served as an associate of John G. Fee under its auspices in Kentucky.⁵⁰ The Indiana abolitionist was selected for his double mission for several reasons. He was experienced in missionary work and familiar with the country; furthermore, he was disenchanted with the Indiana Wesleyans and was desirous of a change of scenery.⁵¹ Worth summarized his advantages in a letter to his nephew soon after his arrival. They included:

... my southern birth on the very spot where I preach, my age, which has reached a point to attract somewhat of reverence, an influential connectionship (my cousins are Slaveholders & are men of great popularity), my wife's very large relationship, and my general acquaintance with the old men of the country and with the fathers of the young—these, with other considerations, give me an advantage which perhaps no other in the connection could have.⁵²

After his arrival Worth established his home at New Salem in Randolph County. He had mixed feelings about his new pastorate. The Wesleyans he found friendly and fervent. Soon his letters to the North boasted of the devotion of his followers and the size of his congregations.⁵³ He found innumerable targets for his abolitionist shafts, however. The clergy, the slaveholding class, the established political parties, the major religious denominations, and the legal and legislative systems of the state all received withering blasts in sermons and letters published in the North.⁵⁴ In his second year in North Carolina, however, Worth took aim at an unlikely target: the North Carolina Friends.

By the late 1850's the Friends of North Carolina Yearly Meeting were maintaining what Thomas E. Drake calls "a quiet testimony" against slavery.⁵⁵ The North Carolina Manumission Society had collapsed in 1834, left lifeless by the migration of its members to Indiana and Ohio and by increasingly hostile public opinion.⁵⁶ The Friends who remained in North Carolina, conservative by nature, had chosen to disassociate themselves equally from slaveholding and abolition, tending to look askance at the actions of their more radical Indiana brethren. Their feelings were summed up by William Hockett, an elder of Center Meeting in Guilford County. In 1848 he wrote to his radical cousin Isaac W. Beeson in Indiana:

Much noise has emanated from the West to the East on the Cause of abolition, and while the Western abolitionists have done the Cause more harm than good by getting into extreams friends of N. C. seem to adhere in good cause to what I think the best policy, not clamorous in the Cause but trying to convince the public mind of the inconsistency of Slavery with the Christian religion, and when the public mind has been convinced by reason, remonstrance, etc. the work of emancipation will be consummated. There hath been much blame attached to the friends of N. C. by some of the abolitionists for not standing up against the laws we live under when at the same time those who thus retort if they were in North

Carolina would be quite still.⁵⁷

Daniel Worth, however, was in North Carolina, and he was not about to be "quite still." He later boasted that he had preached "straight-out abolition" during his entire stay in the state.⁵⁸ Still, Worth waited before he lashed out at the Friends, and even then he overlooked much. The advice of the Yearly Meeting to its members to refrain from aiding fugitive slaves he endured, since he himself studiously avoided any contact with Negroes. This did not stem from racism; the Wesleyans were one of the few denominations to actively seek Black converts and admit them to membership on an unsegregated basis. Worth had ministered to integrated congregations and served with a Black co-pastor while in Indiana.⁵⁹ In North Carolina, however, the old abolitionist believed that the success of his mission depended on gaining influence among the white population, and he did not wish to create a false issue by opening himself to charges of seeking to sow discord among the Blacks by actively proselytizing among them.⁶⁰ Worth found much to praise among the North Carolina Friends. He was impressed by the simplicity of the lives and the morality which was the rule among them. Some of the Friends were far enough advanced in antislavery sentiments to attend some of Worth's services and satisfy even the uncompromising old minister. "There are a few excellent Quakers in the South," Worth wrote to his sister in 1858. "A few may be found around Cane Creek in Chatham (County). One of these, a sister, at my meeting Sunday evening gave me a grip of the hand which thrilled through me like electricity."⁶¹ He never failed to give them credit "for the light they have shed upon the question for so many years."⁶² The Friends, initially, seem to have reciprocated Worth's cordiality. They allowed him to use the abandoned Concord Friends Meetinghouse in Randolph County as a Wesleyan church and on other occasions turned their meetinghouses over to him for services.⁶³

Ironically, it was not religion which brought Worth and the Friends into conflict, but politics. Worth was a firm believer in political antislavery action. His service in the Indiana legislature had given him practical experience, and during the 1840's he had been a frequent candidate for office on the abolitionist Liberty Party ticket.⁶⁴ When the Free Soil fusion movement of 1848 got

under way Worth was one of its principal exponents in Indiana, attending the Buffalo national convention as a delegate and serving as a Van Buren elector.⁶⁵ The old abolitionist had little love for the established political parties. The Whigs were "old fossils"; the Democrats were the minions of the slave power. In 1856 he had scourged even the Republic Party, founded on opposition to the extension of slavery, as a sham being used by "staunch pro-slavery men . . . as a hobby on which to ride into office."⁶⁶ Worth believed that any party which did not pledge itself to uncompromising battle against slavery was embracing the principle "Of two devils take the littler," a compromise with sin which was an affront to any Christian.⁶⁷

The Friends of North Carolina, in contrast, did not carry their antislavery attitudes into the political sphere. Before the break-up of the second party system they, like most piedmont voters, had been reliable Whigs. After that party ceased its national existence its place in North Carolina was taken by the American Party. The bulk of the American leadership, as was the case with all parties throughout the South, came from the slaveowning class. Worth, however, had as his goal a minor revolution in North Carolina politics which would put power into the hands of the non-slaveowners. "Could the masses only understand their strength and get a little intelligence they would soon take the government into their own hands, and slavery would be nowhere," he wrote.⁶⁸

Worth's first opportunity to put his principles into action came with the congressional election for the district including Guilford and Randolph Counties in the summer of 1859. The American Party candidate was John Adams Gilmer, a former Whig of moderate views. A man of some ability, Gilmer was widely respected; Lincoln offered him a cabinet post.⁶⁹ Worth was adamantly opposed to Gilmer, however, since he was not only a slaveowner but a vocal opponent of abolition. Thus the old abolitionist began his own campaign against Gilmer, publicly and privately urging those of antislavery sympathies to refuse to vote. He even went so far as to arrange a private meeting with a small group of leading Quakers "to impress upon them the inconsistency of their course." It was to no avail. The Friends went to the polls and almost to a man cast their votes for Gilmer.⁷⁰

Worth's rage knew no bounds after the election. He immedi-

ately dispatched a lengthy letter to Dr. Nathan B. Hill, a leading Randolph County Friend. Worth scored him and his compatriots for their political activities, going so far as to accuse Hill of personal hypocrisy. "In great plainness of speech," Worth proclaimed that the Society of Friends was "one of the firmest bulwarks of slavery."⁷¹ He concluded by telling Hill:

I cannot vote for a slaveholder to save the union, dear as it is. Truth is dearer than union. If the union is only to be saved and held together by the blood of the slave, then let the union perish. If the government is to be dissolved by the attempt to let the slaves go free, then let its dissolution come, and a shout louder than 7-fold thunder go up at its execution.⁷²

To further inflame the situation Worth took steps to publish the letter.⁷³ The reaction of the Friends was predictable. They informed Worth that his charges were "ridiculous and abusive," and closed their meetinghouses to him.⁷⁴ The old missionary responded with even more spirited denunciations.⁷⁵

Worth's North Carolina career, however, was near its end. John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry produced a wave of furor in North Carolina to which the crusading abolitionist fell victim. On December 23, 1859 he was arrested in Greensboro on charges of circulating incendiary literature, Hinton Rowan Helper's *The Impending Crisis of the South*. Tried on separate charges in Guilford and Randolph Counties, Worth was convicted in both cases. After being released on bail he fled north where he embarked upon a lecture tour to raise funds to indemnify his bondsmen. Eventually he returned to Indiana, where he died December 12, 1862.⁷⁶

These vignettes of Daniel Worth's life reveal much about the identity of an extraordinary man. In moving from a commitment to gradual emancipation to uncompromising immediatism Worth achieved both consistency and a clear conscience, but at the price of alienating sympathizers less fervent than himself. The Friends of North Carolina also emerge in a clearer light. For the most part faithful to their principles of opposition to slavery, their emphasis on unobtrusive moral suasion resulted in the forfeiture of their former antislavery leadership while not alleviating the suspicions of their Southern neighbors. Although the issue which lay between Worth and the Friends has been resolved, the larger question involved still remains. When confronted with an evil strongly

entrenched in law and social custom, is it better to launch a direct attack upon it or to seek gradual change in the hearts and minds of men? This is the problem which makes the experience of both Daniel Worth and the Friends of North Carolina relevant even today.

1. A review of recent scholarly literature on the subject is J. William Frost, "The Origins of the Quaker Crusade Against Slavery," *Quaker History* 67 (Spring, 1978), 42-58. For the popular image of the Quaker abolitionist see Larry Cara, *The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad* (Lexington: 1961), ch. 1, *passim*.

2. See Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), *passim*.

3. Allen Jay, *Autobiography of Allen Jay* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1910), p. 168.

4. Ebenezer C. Tucker, *History of Randolph County, Indiana* (Chicago: A. L. Klingman, 1882), pp. 404-405; Richard L. Zuber, *Jonathan Worth: A Biography of a Southern Unionist* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), p. 3. There is no full length biography of Worth. Two articles which concentrate on his career as an antislavery missionary in North Carolina are Noble J. Tolbert, "Daniel Worth: Tarheel Abolitionist," *North Carolina Historical Review* 39 (July, 1962), 284-304, and Clifton H. Johnson, "Abolitionist Missionary Activities in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 40 (July, 1963), 295-320.

5. Tucker, *History of Randolph County*, p. 405.

6. *Ibid*, pp. 216, 405; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Indiana . . . 15th Session* (Indianapolis: 1831), p. 460.

7. Tolbert, "Daniel Worth," *passim*.

8. P. M. Sherrill, "The Quakers and the North Carolina Manumission Society," *Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society* X (Durham: 1914), 33-35, 38; Patrick Sowle, "The North Carolina Manumission Society, 1816-1834," *North Carolina Historical Review* 42 (Winter, 1965), 50, 68; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 217.

9. *Greensboro* (N. C.) *Patriot*, January 27, 1860.

10. H. M. Wagstaff, ed., *The Minutes of the North Carolina Manumission Society, 1816-1834*, James B. Sprunt Historical Studies, Vol. XXII, no. 1 and 2 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934), 13-14.

11. *New York Daily Tribune*, May 8, 1960.

12. Roy S. Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South* (Syracuse: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing House, 1933), pp. 78-79.

13. Willard C. Heiss, ed., *Abstracts of the Records of the Society of Friends in Indiana*,

7 vols. (Indianapolis: John Woolman Press, 1962–1977), I, xviii. Elizabeth (Swaim) Worth was a distant relative of William Swaim, the antislavery editor of the *Greensboro Patriot*, and of Moses Swaim, the first president of the Manumission Society.

14. Tucker, *History of Randolph County*, p. 405.

15. Davis, *Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, p. 217.

16. Walter Edgerton, *A History of the Separation in Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends . . . on the Anti-Slavery Question* (Cincinnati: A. Pugh, Printer, 1856), p. 30.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Wagstaff, *North Carolina Manumission Society*, pp. 18, 20, 24.

19. Ruth Anna Ketring, *Charles Osborn in the Antislavery Movement* (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1937), p. 26.

20. Wagstaff, *North Carolina Manumission Society*, p. 28.

21. *New York Daily Tribune*, May 8, 1860.

22. This is undeniably evidenced by the fact that Worth remained active in the Society long after colonization had become an issue and withdrew just as agitation to revise the Society's pro-colonization stance was begun. Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences*, 2nd ed. (Cincinnati: R Clark & Co., 1880), p. 75. John Hope Franklin has noted the remarkable popularity of colonization in North Carolina, even among the Quakers. See his *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790–1860* (New York: Norton, 1971), pp. 200–204.

23. Edgerton, *History of the Separation*, pp. 33–34.

24. Minutes of the Economy, Wayne County, Indiana Anti Slavery Society, 1st Mo. 27, 1840, Lindley Collection, Earlham College Library, Richmond, Indiana; W. D. Waldrip, "A Station of the Underground Railroad," *Indiana Magazine of History* 7 (1911), 64–65.

25. W. L. Smith, *Indiana Methodism: Sketches and Incidents* (Valparaiso, Indiana: 1892), p. 72. Buffum (1782–1859), a native of Rhode Island, was a hat manufacturer who in 1833 was among the founders of the American Anti-Slavery Society. He was disowned by the Friends for his radicalism. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America*, pp. 136–137.

26. Daniel Worth to Rawson Vaile, n.d., Centerville, Indiana *Free Territory Sentinel*, January 31, 1849.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Lucius C. Matlack, *The Anti-Slavery Struggle and Triumph Within the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: Phillips and Hunt, 1881), pp. 363–364.

29. New Garden, Indiana *Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle*, 3rd Mo. 18, 1843; Lee M. Haines, "The Story of Wesleyan Methodism in Indiana, 1843–1867" (Ms., Archives of the Wesleyan Church, Marion, Indiana, 1959), p. 12; Daniel Worth to Luther Lee, n.d., *The True Wesleyan*, February 16, 1850. *The True Wesleyan* was the official organ of the Wesleys, published at various times in Boston, New York City, Syracuse, and Newark. After 1852 it became *The Wesleyan*.

31. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America*, pp. 141–142. For Coffin's colonization sympathies see his undated manuscript "On Home Colonization" in the Henry County Historical Society Museum, New Castle, Indiana.

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32. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America*, p. 163; Edgerton, *History of the Separation*, p. 39.
33. Free Labor Advocate, 10th Mo. 29, 1842; Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Minutes* . . . 1842 (Cincinnati: 1843), pp. 18–22; Ketring, *Charles Osborn*, pp. 53–58.
34. Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Minutes* . . . 1841 (Cincinnati: 1842), pp. 17–18; Charles Osborn, *Journal of His Life and Labors in the Ministry* (Cincinnati: A. Pugh, 1854), p. 450; *Free Labor Advocate*, 12th Mo. 10, 1842.
35. *Free Labor Advocate*, 2nd Mo. 25, 1843.
36. Osborn, *Journal*, p. 137; Tucker, *History of Randolph County*, pp. 402–403.
37. Springfield Monthly Meeting of Friends, Men's Minutes, Vol. II, 1st mo. 20, 1844; Women's Minutes, Vol. II, 11th Mo. 18, 1843, 3rd Mo. 16, 1844, microfilm, Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis, Indiana.
38. Haines, "Wesleyan Methodism in Indiana," p. 29.
39. Edward Smith to Luther Lee, August 18, 1845, Lucius C. Matlack, *The True Wesleyan*, October 18, 1851; Coffin, *Reminiscences*, pp. 153–54.
40. Orange Scott to Luther Lee, August 18, 1845, Lucius C. Matlack, *The Life of the Reverend Orange Scott* (New York: C. Prindle and L. C. Matlack, 1847), p. 228.
41. Bernhard Knollenberg, *Pioneer Sketches of the Upper Whitewater Valley: Quaker Stronghold of the West* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1945), p. 90.
42. *Free Labor Advocate*, 2nd Mo. 18, 1843.
43. Coffin, *Reminiscences*, p. 234.
44. Edgerton, *History of the Separation*, pp. 325, 331–336.
45. Coffin, *Reminiscences*, pp. 234–244; *Free Labor Advocate*, 10th Mo. 20, 1845.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.* The prospective editor was Ezra Foster of New Garden in Guilford County. There is no evidence that the newspaper was ever published.
48. Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South*, pp. 28–40; Johnson, "Abolition Missionary Activities," 299–301.
49. *Ibid.*, 305–306.
50. Fletcher M. Green, "Northern Missionary Activities in the South," *Journal of Southern History* 21 (May, 1955), 154–156; Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, February 1, 1854, *The Wesleyan*, February 17, 1854.
51. Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, April 30, 1858, copy in Daniel Worth Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
52. *Ibid.* Worth's relatives included his first cousins Jonathan Worth, a future governor of the state, and Dr. John Milton Worth, a prominent physician. They were apparently less than happy about the return of their abolitionist kinsman, since they refused to return his calls. Daniel returned their feelings, labeling Jonathan a snob and commenting that there was "considerable whoremongering and profanity about" John Milton Worth. Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, William Edgerton Papers, Henry County Historical Society Museum, New Castle, Indiana.
53. *Ibid.*; Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, January 23, 1859, Daniel Worth Papers; Raleigh, North Carolina *Semi-Weekly Standard*, December 17, 1859.

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54. *The Wesleyan*, January 6, 1858; Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers.
55. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America*, p. 167.
56. Kenneth M. Stampp, "The Fate of the Southern Antislavery Movement," *Journal of Negro History* 28 (January, 1943), 20; Sherrill, "Quakers and the North Carolina Manumission Society," 51.
57. William Hockett to Isaac W. Beeson, 9th Mo. 17, 1848, Isaac W. and Benjamin B. Beeson Papers, Indiana Division, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis.
58. *The Wesleyan*, August 22, 1860.
59. Edward Smith to Luther Lee, n.d., *The True Wesleyan*, February 17, 1849.
60. *New York Daily Tribune*, May 8, 1860.
61. Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*
64. For Worth's involvement in Liberty Party affairs and unsuccessful attempts at political office see the surviving issues of the *Free Labor Advocate* and Dorothy Riker and Gayle Thornbrough, ed., *Indiana Election Returns, 1816-1851* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1960), pp. 48, 299.
65. *Free Labor Advocate*, 7th Mo. 7, 14, 1848; *Free Territory Sentinel*, September 6, 1848.
66. *The Wesleyan*, August 6, 1856; Daniel Worth to George W. Julian and Other Documents," *Indiana Magazine of History* 26 (1930), 153-154.
67. *The Wesleyan*, August 6, 1856.
68. Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers.
69. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln*, 2 vols. (New York: Scribner, 1950), II, 461.
70. Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, n.d., *The Wesleyan*, October 12, 1859.
71. *Ibid.*
72. Daniel Worth to Dr. N. B. Hill, August 19, 1859, *Greensboro Patriot*, January 20, 1860.
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Ibid.*
76. For accounts of Worth's trial see Johnson, "Abolitionist Missionary Activities," 312-319 and Tolbert, "Daniel Worth," 292-303.

The Influence of Joseph Moore and the Baltimore Association on North Carolina Quakers

BY

Charles C. Hendricks

THE PREVAILING feelings in North Carolina at the close of the Civil War, especially among Quakers, according to the Yearly Meeting minutes, were anxiety and distress. Friends had become so accustomed to lives of privation and care that it was almost impossible for them to imagine themselves released from apprehension and dread. Some communities which were in the line of march of both armies suffered most of all.

Many of the Friends had not served in the ranks. Some of them, in fact many of them, had lived in caves and hollow trees and slept in barns and outhouses. Others crept secretly into their own houses or those of kindly neighbors. Some of them had fled from home and had escaped through the lines to prevent being conscripted into the Confederate army.

At the close of the war those that had survived returned to find everything impoverished.

Horses gone, cattle if any, poor: the merest pretense at farming going on, tools worn out and harness mostly ropes, Vehicles in the last stages of the one horse shay. The buildings were dilapidated, roofs leaking, windows pasted up with paper or cloth, hinges broken, fences gone burned up in many cases for wood, in many instances houses and property destroyed by fire.¹

The household furnishings were in as dilapidated a condition as the farm tools. During the war if any cooking utensils or tableware were broken, there was nothing to do but go without. Those left at home were mostly women and children who had struggled along as best they could with no resources for their support. In some cases, they had lived on corn bread, for it was

easier to get than wheat, while coffee, sugar and tea were almost unheard of. There were no stores, and nothing to buy goods with if they had been available. Their clothes were all made of homespun cloth which at least had the quality of lasting a long time.

Up to the time of the war, the Friends had generally carried on schools in their communities and their children had been given further education at the boarding schools. Part of the time during the Civil War a few schools had been kept up in different places. New Garden Boarding School, now Guilford College, never closed, although the task of keeping the school open was most difficult from a financial point of view. During the four years of the war, most of the schools perished, and at its close there were many persons just entering young manhood and young womanhood who had had little opportunity to secure an education.²

The meetings and family worship were the main things that kept Friends together. At the close of the war, their property was gone and they were in a forlorn condition, but they gathered up the pieces that remained. The peculiar views and testimonies of Friends had been much dwelt upon by the ministers and overseers during the war. The following from a minute of advice will illustrate the general attitude:

We verily believe that the great distress in which our country is now plunged is in a large degree traceable to the hireling ministers of the present day. We fear that some of them, feeling that their place and living may depend upon the doctrines which were preached have failed to enforce the truths of the Gospel in its fullness; while others from the same cause have advocated doctrines directly at variance with the teachings of Christ. Let us then be careful while treating all men with kindness and love, that we do not lower this important principle—that a pure ministry must be free.³

The Quakers had been a little band of believers in peace in the midst of war, of antislavery abolitionists in the heart of slave territory. The degree of persecution had drawn them together more closely and had intensified both their principles and their prejudices. There was almost no contact with the outside world. Because of their goodly heritage and under the kindly nurture of some of the noblest men, the Quakers were able to rise above the dust and discouragement of the past and set forth into the future with hope and encouragement.

This was accomplished only through the help and work of the Baltimore Association of Friends. This association was formed in 1865 to advise and assist Friends in the Southern states. The main purpose of the association was to put its aid into such form as would elevate Friends and make them self-sustaining or self-supporting. They planned to accomplish this by helping them first to improve their land and then to educate their children.⁴

Their work began in Contentnea Quarter, an area which had been devastated by Sherman's army. The association sent carloads of provisions and boxes of goods of all descriptions, including agricultural tools and household utensils of all kinds.

The reason that the association immediately concerned itself with the improvement of agriculture was to prevent a general emigration, for this seemed to be the best way to stop a general exodus of North Carolina Quakers from their homes to new ones in the West. At yearly meeting time in 1865, the president of the association conferred with Quakers on this matter and a meeting was held at New Garden. As a result of this meeting, there was formed in every quarterly meeting an agricultural club. These acted as a central depot for the selection and distribution of seeds and stock, farming implements, artificial manures, and the introduction of grasses. Some years the association sent as much as two tons of clover seed from Baltimore to North Carolina. In some areas, land was purchased to be used for demonstration in order to train farmers in the use of better techniques. The model farm at Springfield was an outstanding example of this project. Friends near Springfield were so interested in it that they contributed \$700 toward its purchase.⁵ As a result of these efforts, it could be said in 1866 that there had been comparatively little emigration of North Carolina Friends to the West for the past year.

As a result of the work of the Baltimore Association in the field of agriculture it was discovered very early that there was an even stronger need to educate the children of the Quakers. Probably even greater effort than that expended on the farm program was put into developing primary schools. Many of the children had lost four years of instruction, for many of them had had to work at home because of the scarcity of books and because teachers had been conscripted during the war. It might be said that the greatest effort of the association was the development of primary schools.

In 1865, Friends in North Carolina had no schools, no good school houses, and no books.⁶ The Baltimore Association created a fund to be used for educational purposes in aiding the Quakers of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting. In order that the Friends might satisfactorily accomplish the result desired, a number of new school houses were built, others were enlarged, many of the old ones were repaired, and nearly all of them furnished with seats and desks. The Friends themselves did the principal part of the work and this was an indication of their interest in the education of their children. In some places, schools were started in the meetinghouses until the school building could be erected.

Before the end of the first school year, after the Baltimore Association had undertaken the work of relief among Quakers of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, there were thirty primary schools and one normal school under its direction at an expense of \$4,710.36, and in addition it had given \$4,810.50 to New Garden Boarding School for repairs, furniture, and tuition for thirty-six students. The second year the superintendent reported that there were either on the way or completed nine or ten new school houses. These were convenient buildings, situated near the meetinghouses.⁷ From time to time other yearly meetings had joined with the Baltimore Association in aiding the Quakers of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. The Quakers of Philadelphia arranged for the distribution of Bibles, tracts, and other forms of literature.⁸

The results of the labor of the Baltimore Association had been gratifying. Its system of schools had given education not only to all the children of the Friends but to 1,300 children of other denominations. The establishment of these institutions and the farm program had stopped all the emigration of the Friends from the state to the West and had increased their membership from 2,200 to 5,641. Also, the number of meetinghouses had increased from 28 to 52.⁹

In the minutes of the yearly, quarterly, and monthly meetings, there are found many expressions of gratitude by North Carolina Quakers. Not only did the Yearly Meeting express its gratitude for the educational organization made possible through the aid of the Baltimore Association, but the Yearly Meeting realized its responsibility for the continuance of an efficient educational organization within its limits. This realization became all the more evident in

1891 when the Baltimore Association felt that it had given the Yearly Meeting aid sufficient to enable it to begin to stand on its own two feet.¹⁰

The association in the later part of the year 1865 had appointed a superintendent to devote his whole time to the supervision of the schools within the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, under the direction of the Baltimore Association. This first superintendent of the primary school was Joseph Moore. He had been selected after a visit to the Yearly Meeting by Francis T. King, the association president. King told them at that yearly meeting to start such schools as they could with the material they had at hand. Joseph Moore arrived from Earlham College in December 1865 and began his work as superintendent.¹¹

Joseph Moore was born in Washington, Indiana, not far from the Ohio River, Second month 29, 1832, and was the son of John Parker and Martha Cadwalader Moore. In his life of seventy-three years he had only eighteen birthdays. The leap year days were made the occasion of several birthday parties in his honor in his later life. He came of Quaker stock on both his father and mother's side, and his grandparents, Joseph and Peninah Parker Moore migrated from eastern North Carolina to Indiana with many other Friends from the South who believed slavery to be wrong and wished to get away from the condition it created. Their first large log house was one with port holes over the door, but it is doubtful whether these staunch Quakers ever used them for their original purpose, which was defense against the Indians.¹²

Joseph Moore was a boy of tender conscience and religious aspiration and a keen sense of right. His strong religious conviction had its roots far back in his boyhood. His entire family attended meeting with unfailing regularity both on First and Fifth days.¹³

Joseph Moore owes much of his innate nobility and refinement to his mother, although his father was a man of good mind and upright character. She found time to repeat to her children selections from Milton, Cowper, and many others. She gave them a taste for music and poetry and a love of the beautiful which went with them always, even among the multitudinous cares of pioneer life with her large family. The bond of love and sympathy between him and his mother was very strong, and he mentions it many times with warm affection.

Opportunities for formal school were slim. He had to walk two and one-half miles each day with his brother and sister to school from four to six months a year. Among his teachers some were good and some were bad, though it seems that there were more of the latter than of the former. In spite of this, he took every chance for education which he had offered to him.

From very early life, he loved nature in her various aspects. He found a book of botany and used it to classify the flowers in his botanical garden.¹⁴ The love of nature was the foundation of his later work in science.

In his life, there was much that was hard to meet and overcome, but the simple wholesome home life, the daily chores, the big living room and kitchen with their great open fire places, the apples and chestnuts roasting on the hearth on cold winter nights, the sincere religion of father and mother, and the gathering of the household each day for Bible reading and devotion—all these phases of their life and many more were characteristic of the pioneer life of Friends in the Middle West, and aided in meeting their problems. This type of life provided a school of real experience and built strong character. Here “project methods,” “manual training,” and “progressive ideals” were a potent reality.¹⁵

When he was 18, he began teaching a country school in a nearby county. The next year he taught in the Blue River Seminary. One of his pupils tells of her first day's experience of his teaching in this school. She had gone as a timid little girl who had never been to school before. She had sat in fear and trembling most of the morning when she was surprised to feel a gentle hand on her head and looked up into a face so kind and loving that from that time on there was a long friendship for this loved teacher.

Joseph Moore entered Friends Boarding School at Richmond, Indiana, now Earlham College, in the spring of 1856 for further study. The move came after some encouragement from Abram Trueblood who had been teaching him. A few months after his entrance he was invited to be an assistant teacher and accepted the service humbly but gladly.¹⁶

He taught on at the boarding school until there was earnest talk of a college there. He again was encouraged by some of the faculty at Earlham to continue his study and work in science. He spent two years at Harvard and left with his degree of Bachelor of Science in

1861. While at Harvard he studied under such men as Agassiz, Wyman, Gray, and Horsford. Of all his teachers, Agassiz had the greatest influence.¹⁷

In the autumn of 1861 he went back to Earlham College to become professor of natural science. With renewed ardor he entered again upon his teaching, bringing home from Boston and vicinity the geological, zoological, and mineral specimens that he had collected. He enlarged the museum of natural history in which he had been interested.

In the fall of 1865, his health suddenly failed so seriously that he had to give up his work which he loved so deeply at Earlham. It was while he was recovering that the way of service opened for him in North Carolina—a field of much importance and of many difficulties but one for which his experience had well fitted him. This was the work of organizing the educational interest, and of building up the schools of Friends of North Carolina and eastern Tennessee. Joseph Moore, as has been said, was the first superintendent and he held this position for three years.¹⁸ The three years he worked at this can easily be said to constitute his greatest contribution to North Carolina Quakerism. It seemed a heavy task and a great undertaking for a man whose health was so frail that he himself was not even sure that he would get to North Carolina. But it seemed to him the way of duty, and he cheerfully and bravely accepted it. Probably no three years of his life were more fruitful in permanent result than these. To quote his own words,

I am earnestly pressed by some of my friends to accept this work. How to begin a work that was to call for exposure, hardship and toil of head and hands, I did not know. But with change of climate and outdoor exposure for the first few months in going from mountains to sea, and from sea to mountains and over into Tennessee, came gradually increasing strength, so that for three years I hardly missed three days. Three precious years there with a people scattered and peeled by war. There was experience enough in these years to make a volume.¹⁹

His father's pioneer spirit of adventure was showing itself in him.

For the first few months, John Scott accompanied him. John Scott already knew something of the field, and he could share some of the responsibility. They came down together from Baltimore through Richmond, Virginia and landed in Greensboro, North

Carolina on Christmas Eve, 1865. Together they drove over roads often impassable in decrepit wagons and visited in homes impoverished and stripped of conveniences. Everywhere their loving service met a response in the heart of the kindly southern Friends. Doors were opened to them with true southern hospitality and aid was given to them in their work.

At first a canvas was made of the field to discover needs and possibilities, and the work of building or rebuilding and training teachers began. Joseph Moore visited all the meetings of Friends in North Carolina Yearly Meeting, awakening interest in education. He made a list of the number of children, engaged teachers, enlisted parents in the building of school houses, and sent for supplies. An important step often taken to make the meeting feel its responsibility for the work was the appointment of a committee to cooperate with him.²⁰

Joseph Moore procured a magic lantern with slides illustrating geography, zoology, and elementary astronomy, which he took all over the state. When word got around that he was going to be at a place the meetinghouse would be filled. (The exhibits were free.) It is hard to realize the dearth of intellectual and spiritual food and the hunger of mind and soul which brought these multitudes to listen to lectures and sermons. Always, preaching went hand in hand with teaching in the work of Joseph Moore, and he blended it in one message of life.²¹

He found that one of the greatest needs was for good teachers. To meet that need, a normal school was organized and held in the summer of 1866. The purpose of this was to give courses to improve methods of teaching and school management. The response to it was beyond all anticipation.

The teachers that Joseph Moore employed were natives of the state. This was done to give them the financial advantage of the work, and even more, he wished to put it on a self-sustaining and permanent basis. Side by side with day schools, Bible schools were started and a school for training Bible teachers was carried on.²²

When he first began to work, he was in charge of twelve schools of low standard with about 600 pupils. By the end of three years the number of schools had increased to forty, the pupils to 2558. The standard of work and efficiency of the teaching had increased even beyond the number, and intellectual and spiritual uplift and out-

look had been felt through all North Carolina Yearly Meeting and beyond. Joseph started the work which helped to make it possible for a later superintendent to say in 1880 with pride that there was probably no Quaker child between the ages of seven and twenty-one who could not read and write.

As for the curriculum in the schools, it was minimal, and much of Joseph Moore's time was spent in organizing a course of study that would give the pupils a well-rounded education. The following is the course produced for and followed in schools that were set up by Joseph Moore. This was subject to change as the need arose.

Grade A: Reading by word method from *Sheldon's Charts* and *Sheldon's First Reader*. Printing on the slates or black board the words of each lesson. Spelling correctly every word in the book. Teach the Roman Table. The Geography of the neighborhood. Object lesson. Recite from memory. Drawing.

Grade B: *Hillard's Second Reader*. Spelling by sound every word of one syllable in the book. Spelling by letter every word in the book. Primary Arithmetic. Rudiments of Geography. Practice in drawing lines, angles, triangles, squares and curves.

Grade C: Writing. Spelling by sounds and letters. Arithmetic. Geography. Elements of Physiology. Memorize the ten parts of speech and learn to distinguish the noun, verb, an adjective, pronoun and article. Composition on familiar subjects. Map drawing. Careful attention to the letter part of Webster's spelling book. Objective lesson. Drawing solids.

Grade D: Reading. Spelling. Arithmetic completed and algebra commenced. Grammar. Physical Geography. Composition. Drawing, Booking. In the course of study to Grade D is added Davenport's *History of the U.S.*, including the Constitution, Well's *Science of Common Things*, Gray's *First Lessons in Botany*.

Besides this there were general exercises to follow: Drawing, vocal gymnastics, object lessons, composition, declamation and the daily Scripture exercise. In a few of the schools, the Latin language was taught.²³

To give some idea of the task of Joseph Moore and of the information he was trying to give, the following list of schools with data is given:

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Oak Forest School

Franklin Blair, Teacher

Number on Roll	38
Daily Average	33
Friends Children	32
Non-Friends	6
Length of term not specified.	
Wages per month—\$25.00	

Piney Woods

Jabez Mendenhall, Teacher

Number on Roll	29
Daily Average	21
Friends Children	14
Non-Friends	15
Length of term—3 months	
Wages per month—\$20.00	

CENTRE MONTHLY MEETING

Hockett School

Harriett E. Stalker, Teacher

Number on Roll	17
Daily Average	16
Friends Children	All
Length of Term—3 months or more	
Wages per month—\$14.00 "specie basis"	

Osborn School

Ruth Stalker, Teacher

Number on Roll	33
Daily Average	30
Friends Children	18
Length of term—3 months	
Wages—\$3.00 per scholar per month	

Providence School

David Farlow, Teacher

Number on Roll	38
Daily Average	32
Friends Children	24
Wages—\$1.00 per scholar per month	

SPRINGFIELD MONTHLY MEETING

Springfield School

Alpheus L. Mendenhall, Teacher

Number on Roll	45
Daily Average	35
Friends Children	34
Non-Friends	11
Length of Term—4 months	
Wages per month—\$35.00 ²⁴	

After three years of able and devoted service in the work of the South, Joseph Moore accepted a call to the presidency of Earlham College. This position he held until 1883 when he resigned because of poor health. He then returned to North Carolina which had done so much to restore him twenty years before. This time, he was connected with New Garden Boarding School.²⁵ He traveled in its interest and then for three years was its principal. It was at this time that he raised the curriculum and standard for scholarship, and the school became Guilford College. He was urgently invited to become its first president, but he recommended Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, who was appointed.

Joseph Moore's life work found expression in three ways, all closely related. He was a scientist, teacher, and preacher.²⁶ He loved nature because he found truth there. The study of science was a high intellectual and spiritual adventure. His greatest single achievement for science was his museum, which he built with steady patience from his very first years at Earlham. Professor Agassiz of Harvard said of him that he was at one time the best scientist west of the Allegheny mountains.²⁷ As great as he was as a scientist, he was greater as a Christian man.

To Joseph Moore, there was no conflict between science and religion. He found the truth of science as a fuller revelation of God. With his simple faith he penetrated through hindering creeds and found the same God speaking in love to his own soul. Whether in class room lectures or sermons, Moore demonstrated to his hearers that there was no conflict in the truth in nature or in religion.

He had a winning personality and an attractive figure. He was of medium height, slender build, and alert and graceful bearing. His voice was flexible and mellow and full of expression, but his genial

smile and the kindly light in his blue eyes drew both young and old to him. His greatest sermon was his sincere, faithful, practical living of the truth he thought.²⁸ The key to his life, the source of his power for good, the impulse which directed his various activities, was a deep and abiding love of the truth so far as he could find it, together with a constant joy in telling it to others.

There is nothing extraordinary or spectacular about his career, but the power and charm of a rarely beautiful spirit permeated all he did and lifted his story above the ordinary. He belonged to that group of men who are interesting because they have redeemed the commonplace way of life by living it unusually well.²⁹ As a symbol of appreciation, Friends at Springfield did well to dedicate their new meetinghouse to the memory of Joseph Moore, Francis T. King, and Allen Jay, and to inscribe these words upon the memorial tablet: "How beautiful upon the mountain are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings."³⁰

1. Allen Jay, *Autobiography of Allen Jay* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company, 1910), p. 154.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Undocumented Minutes of Advice as quoted in Jay, *supra*, p. 168.

4. Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1896), p. 312.

5. Zora Klain, *Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1924), p. 250.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

8. Jay, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

10. Klain, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-257.

11. Weeks, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

12. Jay, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

13. Anna Moore Cadbury, *Life of Joseph Moore* (Greensboro: Guilford College, 1934), pp. 3-4.

14. Jay, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

15. Cadbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

18. Jay, *loc. cit.*

19. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

20. Joseph Moore, "Journal of the Superintendent of Friends Schools in North

Joseph Moore and the Baltimore Association

Carolina from 1865 to 1868" (unpublished manuscript in the Guilford College Quaker Collection, Greensboro, North Carolina), pp. 1-3.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

22. Cadbury, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

23. Klain, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-255.

24. Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

25. When Joseph Moore first came to New Garden Boarding School to teach, he was the first scientist of his sort to be on the faculty. However, Guilford had excellent classical scholars such as Nereus Mendenhall, Dougon Clark, A. Marshall Elliott, and Lewis Lyndon Hobbs.

26. Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, *Guilford, A Quaker College* (Greensboro: Guilford College, 1937), p. 117.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

29. Jay, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

30. This inscription appears on the memorial plaque in front of the Springfield Friends Meetinghouse, Route 4, High Point, North Carolina.

Report on the Quaker Collection of the Guilford College Library, 1979-1980*

BY

Treva W. Mathis

TO THE uninitiated person the Quaker Collection seems to be only a beautifully appointed place to view antique furniture, artifacts, and ancient documents; to search for family history; and to hear from the staff as much or as little as is desired. The Collection is all of this and much more. It has evolved from a part-time voluntary service of love on the part of early librarians, college staff, and members of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends to a library within a library staffed by professional librarians and kept open on a regular schedule of thirty hours a week, with some additional hours provided for special needs or events. Full service is provided for research on Quakers, Quakerism, college history, local history, and often research on non-Quaker topics as well.

Patrons using the Collection come from many places and are varied in their interests. The year 1979-1980 included 293 visits (many more visitors) 125 of which were for genealogical research, and 48 for other research. Four groups were given tours and lectures. Two of these were Friends Meeting groups, that is, South Fork and Friendship Sunday School Classes; The Forum; a woman's club; and a garden club.

The Quaker Collection has always been available to Guilford College students for research, and has been used through the years

* In the future, each Fall number of *The Southern Friend* will contain a report on the Quaker Collection of the Guilford College Library. Since the Collection is the major resource for Quaker research in the Southeast and since it serves as the unofficial home of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, these reports should be of wide interest. Treva Mathis retired as Curator of the Collection on May 31, 1980. She has been succeeded by Damon D. Hickey.

by those with a Quaker family heritage or an interest in Quaker history, and by the students assigned to do research on Quaker topics in Religion 210 (Quakerism). This is still true, but in more recent years greater numbers of Guilford College students in disciplines other than religious studies have used the Collection's resources. A member of the English Department has sent his Southern Literature class to use one of the manuscript collections of private papers as training in the use of primary sources. The History Department has surveyed the manuscript collections and plans to make use of them as more research with primary materials is incorporated into the Department's curriculum. We have arranged several internships for which students have received academic credit in their major departments, and more are planned for the Fall of 1980. A senior Art and History major has just completed an ambitious senior honors thesis project on early North Carolina architecture and building tools in which he used some Quaker Collection documents and artifacts and for which the staff helped to arrange the loan of other artifacts from the Greensboro Historical Museum.

Guilford College students investigated New Garden Boarding School and Guilford College land acquisitions and provided the Collection with copies of deeds, the Quaker peace testimony, Friends World College, the history of Mary Hobbs Hall, colonial architecture, and early building tools. The Quakerism Class wrote papers on various topics.

Our faculty are seen more often in the Collection, using its resources for research preparatory to writing papers, journal articles, books, and speeches. A member of the Philosophy Department is currently researching the relationship of Methodism and Quakerism, particularly that between John Wesley and George Fox in the early years of each movement. Others drop in to find answers to all kinds of questions, and the staff of the Publications Office, Development Office, and various other offices on campus ask for help many times each week.

Use of the Collection continues to be heavy by faculty and students from other educational institutions. A professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro is investigating early Quaker missionary efforts in China and their effects on Chinese women. A Hollins College professor is doing research on

Kathleen Lonsdale, English Quaker chemist and writer on Quaker topics.

Fourteen students from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and at Greensboro, Appalachian State University, Duke University, the University of Chicago, the University of Tennessee, and Louisiana State University have researched such topics as 19th Century agricultural practice, the anti-slavery movement in the United States and Great Britain, antebellum Quakers in North Carolina, George Dixon and the Friends' Freedmen's Association (for the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Chemistry Department), Quakers and slavery, North Carolina Quakers' involvement in the improvement of treatment for the mentally ill, North Carolina Quakers and the American Revolution, education of pastors in North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Robert Barclay, Quaker migration into North Carolina, and the motivation for becoming Friends in the earliest Colonial period. A graduate student in the University of Chicago School of Divinity discovered in the earliest record book of the Pasquotank area what he thinks is the first poem ever written in North Carolina. He has done research on the author, Henry White, and hopes to edit the poem for publication.

Other research completed by patrons has been on southern Randolph County history; general Guilford County history prior to 1800; historical mapping; the history of Clemmons, North Carolina, and the relationship of its founder, Peter Clemmons, to the Quakers, the Model Farm in High Point; and Quaker cabinet makers.

Assistance has been given to the North Carolina Friends Historical Society with mailings to its membership, sales of its publications, and arrangements for its annual meeting and meetings of its executive board. Mary Edith Hinshaw chaired a sub-committee of the Society for having histories of the oldest meetings written, and she presided at a meeting and workshop for the writers which was held in the Collection and attended by the staff. Research has been done by six persons on five meetings.

Helen Hole, Trustee, spent the Fall of 1979 in residence at Guilford College. She spent many days researching Quaker women journal writers.

Seven new or newly created manuscript collections have added

Report on the Quaker Collection

the papers of Martha Tomlinson Petty, David Marshall, Anna Anderson, the Plainfield W.C.T.U., Ezra Moore, Emma King, and Pearl Idol. Additions have been made to the manuscript collections of Joseph D. Cox, Duval Craven, Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, and Fred Hughes.

This is my final report as a member of the Guilford College Library Staff. As I complete nearly thirty years in various capacities, nine of these years as Curator of the Quaker Collection, I wish to express my deep appreciation for the opportunity to have been a part of this institution and the growth which has taken place in these years. My work has been varied, challenging, interesting, demanding, and fulfilling. I shall always be a better person, and infinitely richer, for the friendships I have made through the years among patrons, students, faculty, and staff. The support of the Library Staff has always been given when needed or asked for, and I am grateful.

The Quaker Collection will go forward to changes, more growth, and progress under the new Curator, Damon Hickey, and Carole Treadway, Quaker Collection Assistant. I wish each of them my best for the same kind of rewarding work and relationships with patrons which I have enjoyed. To Carole I give especially warm thanks for everyday assistance, always efficiently and cheerfully given.

Gifts and Donors to the Quaker Collection

1979-1980

Bills, John E., Jr.

Genealogy Chart of the Bills family.

Bissell, Arthur E.

Framed Photograph of an etching of Elizabeth Fry.

Bundy, D. V. Mayo

Contribution of money.

Burrows, Edward F.

55 pamphlets on Quaker topics and including Guilford College publications. Papers including minutes of faculty meet-

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ings, Minority Task Force Committee and summary report of the state Evaluation Committee on the Teacher Training Program at Guilford College, 1971.

Cox, Joseph J.

17 items, mostly correspondence, additions to the Cox family papers.

Craven, F. Duval

Addition to the Craven papers including letters, newspaper clippings, photographs (uncounted); two books; programs and reports of Spring Garden Friends Meeting, Guilford College and Asheboro Street Friends Meeting.

Farmer, Leslie

Contribution of money.

Fulcher, William

Genealogical information on the family of Ezekial Wheeler Hancock. 6 pages, Xerox copies.

Griffin, Beaman

Papers and photographs of Tecy Beaman Griffin including 1 autograph book, 17 letters, 1 note book and 25 photographs.

Guilford College, Class of 1925 by Katie Lambeth Cotten

Additional papers of the Class of 1925 (one manuscript box).

Gust, Frances Osborne

Fortieth reunion booklet of the Class of 1929, Guilford College.

Hannah, Mary Tomlinson

2 children's bonnets.

Haworth, Cecil

9 directories of Friends Meetings, including Jamestown Friends Meeting, High Point Monthly Meeting and Deep River Quarterly Meeting.

Helms, Mrs. W. R.

Biology notebook kept by Ezra Moore, 1914-15 in a class taught by Samuel Geiser at Guilford College.

Report on the Quaker Collection

Heuss, John and Ione

Eight reels of microfilm including records of Albemarle County, N. C.; Perquimans County, N. C.; Walnut Ridge Monthly Meeting, Rush Co., Indiana; Carthage Friends Meeting, Carthage, Indiana (Orthodox) and records of Friends Meetings in Michigan. Xerox copy of will of Patrick Henley and extracts from the diary of Joshua Trueblood. Marriage certificate of Joshua Trueblood and Mary Henley.

Hiatt, Stella Anderson

Papers of Anna Anderson including 1 photograph album; herbarium prepared at Guilford College, 1895; and one each journal, ledger, sales book and date book for a business owned by Anna Anderson, 1895. Also her Guilford College diploma and one black silk bonnet.

Hill, Helen Outland

2 black silk Quaker bonnets of Abigail Jennett Outland.

Hinshaw, Calvin

Photograph, Providence Friends Meeting House, taken *ca.* 1929.

Hinshaw, Seth and Mary Edith

39 leaflets and pamphlets pertaining to Quaker subjects; 2 newspapers prepared for the 4th Friends World Conference; unpublished genealogy, *The Family and Ancestry of Helen Coffin Terrell* by Clayton Terrell, 1971 and one addition to the Woody papers, a letter dated 7-14-1876.

Hobbs, Grimsley

One addition to the Lewis Lyndon Hobbs papers, a letter to the Greensboro Water and Light Commission dated 7-20-1910.

Hughes, Fred

Cassette tape of speeches given by the donor; additions to the *Historical Documentation* map collections, including Surry, Stokes and Davie counties; documents for the *Guilford County Historical Documentation* map (uncounted); proof copies of the *Davie County Historical Documentation* map, the *Yadkin County* map and manuscripts of the *Guilford County Historical Documentation* map; 2 books; one addition to the Deberry papers;

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personal papers including newspaper clippings, notes, writings, letters and miscellany.

Hunt, M. P.

Unpublished genealogy of the Hunt family.

Lemmonds, Terry

Genealogical information on the family of Britton Sanders, Montgomery County, N. C. (Xerox copies).

Maris, Ruth Outland

3 bound volumes of *The Friend* (Philadelphia), 1917-1919; one copy of *The Yearly Meetings of the Religious Society of Friends* by Robert J. Leach, Pendle Hill, 1944.

Mills, Eldon

Contribution of money.

Moore, J. Floyd

Papers supporting the nomination of Elizabeth Gray Vining for an honorary degree from the University of Chapel Hill; two color snapshots of the dedication ceremony for the new state historical marker next to New Garden Friends Meeting, 11-1-79.

Mower, Mary Blair

9 photographs including scenes of Guilford campus and the Hobbs-Mendenhall family; mementoes of the 1974 United Society of Friends Women-Quaker Men National Conference, Guilford College; letter to Emma King from Ann Warner dated 8-1-1923; treasurer's record book 1924-1932, Elizabeth Fry Circle, Greensboro Monthly Meeting.

Myrick, Alan P.

Copy of his seminar paper entitled *The New Garden Friends and Slavery, 1800-1835*.

Perkins, Theoodore

Copies of unpublished genealogies of the Harper, McBride, Sargent, etc. families; one pamphlet entitled *The Friendly Per-version: Quakers as Reconcilers*; three Spring Garden Meeting programs; one copy of *The Guilford County Genealogist*, Vol. 2, spring, 1975.

Report on the Quaker Collection

Pipkin, John

Papers including his correspondence, drafts of poetry, speeches, thesis and date books (2 document boxes).

Routh, Helen Lashley

Songbook entitled *The Temple Star* which belonged to Eula Dixon.

Routh, Lawrence

Miscellaneous genealogical materials, 5 items.

Rumford, Lewis, II

15 books.

Ryan, Pat

One issue of *Rochester History*, Vol. 61, January/February, 1979, edited by the donor.

Settlemyre, Nancy

Quaker date book (no date) which belonged to Edith Stafford.

Stanfield, David

Brochure on the history of Quaker Memorial Presbyterian Church, Lynchburg, Va.

Stoesen, Alex

Photocopies of papers from the J. Elwood Cox Collection at Duke University, mostly pertaining to the furniture industry.

Szittyz, Ruth Outland

The Warners of Muncy Valley, a genealogy by the donor.

Thompson, Eugene

Genealogy sheets of the Moses Steele Thompson family of Trigg Co., Ky.

Vernon, William

12 issues of *Vernon Vignettes*.

Woke, Paul A.

Unpublished genealogy, *The Mendenhall Family in America*.

White, Charles R.

Copies of genealogical records compiled by Mrs. Harriette Hammer on the Woodard and Thornburg families.

Winslow, Raymond A.

Perquimans County Historical Society Yearbook, 1976.

Woodard, William K.

Copy of the will of James McKinney of Lincoln Co., Tennessee.

Wright, Marietta

Items relating to the William Penn High School in High Point and efforts to preserve the auditorium and have it added to the National Register of Historic Places. Includes copies of a history of the school, and the official application to the National Register, newspaper clippings, brochures and flyers.

Anonymous

Contribution of money in honor of Treva Mathis.

Woman's Society of First Friends Meeting

Contribution of money.

Documents of Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly
Meetings of North Carolina
Deposited in the Quaker Collection
1979-1980

Eastern Quarterly Meeting, North Carolina Yearly Meeting
Minutes, 1957-1979 (1 volume)

Greensboro Monthly Meeting

Records, volume 2

Minutes, Ministry and Counsel (4 volumes)

1949-1955; 1955-1957; 1957-1965; 1965-1973

Clerk's notes, 1966-69 (1 volume)

Memorial for Margaret Dutton Stevens

1979 Meeting Directory

Jamestown Monthly Meeting

Additions to slide collection and a carousel to hold them

Report on the Quaker Collection

New Hope Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1920-1970 (1 volume)

North Carolina Yearly Meeting

35 memorials

Pilot View Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1971-1979 (1 volume)

Southern Quarterly Meeting, North Carolina Yearly Meeting-
Conservative

Minutes of Ministers, elders and overseers, 1971-1979 (1
volume)

Up River Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1959-1971, (1 volume)

Minutes, Ministry and counsel, 1967-77 (1 volume)

Winthrop Monthly Meeting

Minutes (3 volumes)

1918-1943; 1944-1960; 1961-1972

Sabbath School records (3 volumes)

1920-1923; 1923-1944; 1944-1952

Recent Books

Cope, Thomas P. *Philadelphia Merchant: The Diary of Thomas P. Cope, 1800-1851*. Edited by Eliza Cope Harrison. South Bend: Gateway Editions, 1978. \$19.95.

Thomas Cope was a highly successful merchant who lived in Philadelphia from 1768 to 1854. His diary, written during the first half of the nineteenth century from the perspective of a prominent Philadelphia Quaker, reflects eighteenth century values and great sensitivity to moral questions such as slavery. His comments on important persons and great historic moments make interesting reading.

His fortune came from sending ships to Europe and he was one of the principal organizers of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Cope was an active Quaker who devoted much of his time to civic and charitable efforts and although he sometimes had difficulty reconciling his wealth with Quaker simplicity he appeared to resolve this problem through his active public service.

His diary was discovered in the nineteen-thirties in the summer home of one of his descendants and was placed in the library at Haverford College. There are some gaps in the diary, notably from 1820 to 1843 and, therefore, there is no commentary on the Hicksite schism in the Society of Friends.

There are interesting comments about Quakers. Cope seemed to be concerned that Friends might conceal their inner greed by outward observance of Quaker garb and attendance at meeting. He was a thoughtful and religious man. "Every man is possessed of certain faculties of perception and the powers of judging. Let him, therefore, make a proper use of these and inquire for himself." Cope felt one should reject doctrines that cannot be believed and practice what can be believed. His precepts of religion were few and simple. One precept he firmly rejected was the idea that unbaptised infants go to hell, as he observed at the death of an infant son. On the whole, his religious perspective is that of an eighteenth century Quaker. Although he was carefully rational, he had a very deep sense of family and loved his wife and children. He tells how much he enjoyed playing with his children and recounts a story told about Henry IV of France who greeted an important guest while playing horse

with his son riding on his back. He inquired of his guest if he were a father, and upon learning that he was decided to continue playing. Cope liked the story and believed that his own playing with children kept him from being pompous.

On December 17, 1800, Cope made an entry in his diary concerning his horror at learning that two negroes were burned alive in Charleston: "This cruel exhibition might have given pleasure to a Mohawk or a South Carolinian slaveholder but it is abhorrent to every principal [*sic*] of humanity and reflects but little credit to the State." There are many such entries in his diary.

Upon learning that a friend had retired and was bored with his life Cope said, "Were I to live to the age of Methuselah I would employ every hour of my life." Not only did he believe that "the field of knowledge is boundless," but also that he would be active in public service: "Were I so lost to myself and society to be possessed of no desire of improvement and to have no public spirit, rather than be idle I would play pitch penny with my servant girl and gallop the streets on a broomstick."

He was concerned about the status of women: "The love of independence is inherent in the human mind and the thralldom, mental and corporeal, in which women have been held for ages is derogatory to justice and humanity."

From his diary we learn to respect this distinguished Philadelphia Quaker for his sincerity and his humanity. Reading this diary makes one more aware than ever of the influence of the Society of Friends upon its members, many of whom, like Thomas Cope, were active in the shaping of America. We are given a fresh and well informed account of events which occurred during his lifetime. He expressed himself very well with a style which helps us gain a personal insight into the events of his time.

The publication of this book is a valuable addition to our knowledge about this period.

Donald W. Millholland
Guilford College

Bisbee, Henry H. and Colesar, Rebecca Bisbee. *John Collins, Artist, 1814-1902*. Burlington, N. J.: P. H. Bisbee and The Burlington County Historical Society, 1979. \$7.95.

Readers of *The Southern Friend* are familiar with the lithograph depicting New Garden Friends Meeting House in 1869 which appears on the cover of each issue of the *Journal*. 1869 was the year that the Burlington, New Jersey, Quaker artist and teacher, John Collins, travelled with his wife to

North Carolina to attend the Yearly Meeting and to visit with Friends. Collins' record of that visit is a travel diary charmingly and abundantly illustrated with his watercolor sketches, photographs and lithographs which he presented to his wife on her birthday in the following year. This journal and two similar journals which record the couple's nine year sojourn in East Tennessee in the eighteen-seventies and their visit to North Carolina in 1881 are now in The Quaker Collection of the Guilford College Library. Many of the watercolors have been reproduced frequently and are familiar to many, but little has been known of the artist who painted them. Now the authors of this little pamphlet, who have long been active in the preservation of Burlington history, have given us a brief account of the life of John Collins. The account is lively and interesting and is packaged with a portfolio of prints of fifteen lithographs showing scenes in Burlington in 1847 drawn and executed by Collins. The pamphlet gives some background on each scene and also lists the John Collins holdings in the Burlington County Historical Society.

A Quaker artist may seem an anomaly, Edward Hicks notwithstanding, but the background and personality described by the authors indicate to some degree how Collins was able to work as an artist and still maintain his status within the Society of Friends. He was the son and grandson of Quaker printers. His grandfather, Isaac Collins, was named printer to the King for New Jersey in 1770 and the Collins imprint appears on dozens of tracts and books, including many of the Quaker classics of the Colonial and Revolutionary period. Thomas Collins, John's father, continued the family business. The authors do not explain how Collins received his training in drawing and painting, but his early interest in lithography, which he continued throughout his life, was a natural outgrowth of his exposure to the printing trade. Collins was able to channel his creative gifts in ways that were consistent with the Quaker values and standards of his time. His work was primarily illustrative, designed to instruct and preserve in much the way that photography came to be used. He was a teacher for most of his adult life and thus was not an artist in any Bohemian sense that would have been seen by his peers as frivolous or immoral.

The authors' work is somewhat marred by errors characteristic of an imperfect understanding of Quaker ways, and the consistent misspelling of the anti-slavery Quaker minister William Forster's name as Froster is unfortunate. Overall, however, this is a useful addition to our knowledge of a man who greatly enlarged our understanding of what life was like among Friends in North Carolina and Tennessee in the difficult years after the Civil War through his skill with pen and brush.

The pamphlet and portfolio may be ordered from The Bygone Shop.

214 High Street, Burlington, N. J. 08016, and \$1.00 for postage and handling should be added to the price.

Carole Treadway
Guilford College

Buckley, Thomas E. *Church and State in Revolutionary Virginia, 1776-1787*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977. \$12.50.

Thomas E. Buckley, a Jesuit historian at Loyola Marymount University, has written an interesting and important account of the forces and events that led in 1786 to Jefferson's successful establishment of religious freedom in Virginia and to the first amendment to the United States Constitution. Buckley stresses particularly the role played by dissenting groups, particularly the evangelicals, in bringing about this transformation. One might expect, therefore, that Quakers, one of the earliest dissenting groups, would be given a good deal of attention. Indeed, the author indicates that groups such as the Friends, which were not only nonconformist, but also persecuted, were "a fertile source of discontent and resentment against the Anglican church." He does not, however, pursue this interesting line further in regard to the Friends, and they are almost entirely ignored throughout the remainder of the book. (In fact, the terms, "Friends" and "Quakers," do not appear in the index, despite scattered references throughout the text. A reference to George Fox is the index's only indication of a Quaker passage.) The brief information that is supplied is taken from Rufus Jones's *The Quakers in the American Colonies* and, therefore, adds nothing new to our knowledge of the part played by Friends in this classic struggle for religious liberty. Buckley's focus on other groups is understandable since the numbers of Quakers in Virginia had declined by the period with which he is primarily concerned. Nevertheless, he fails to address the relevant historical question of what the Friends did in the previous decades that helped to establish a climate favorable to the development of religious dissent and subsequent liberation.

By suggesting that evangelicalism was a force as important as rationalism in bringing about religious liberty in the Old Dominion, Buckley joins a growing chorus of historians, including Donald Mathews in *Religion in the Old South*, who have come to view eighteenth-century evangelicalism as a force for social, psychological, and ultimately political liberation and identity for people whom the established church served only to repress and denigrate. What evangelicalism did for many Americans in the

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Quaker movement did for many Englishmen and Americans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. John Wesley was aware of this affinity, but the Quaker influence has not been fully appreciated by historians such as Buckley. If, indeed, evangelicalism was such a major force in bringing about an atmosphere conducive to religious liberty, what did it owe to the earlier, pioneering work of the Friends? Did Virginians in 1776–87 look north to Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey, or south to North Carolina where Quaker influence had been decisive in shaping religiously pluralistic societies? Did Virginia evangelicals find these societies attractive or repugnant, and did their presence so close at hand accelerate or inhibit the growth of religious liberty in their own state?

These questions must await further research. In the meantime, Buckley's book provides a clearer picture than we have yet had of the internal dynamics of Virginia's movement toward religious liberty, and the importance of the evangelical contribution to that movement.

Damon D. Hickey
Guilford College

The Authors

Thomas D. Hamm will receive a Master's Degree in American History from Indiana University in December. A native of New Castle, Indiana, he currently resides in Bloomington and hopes eventually to be a college teacher.

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Treva Mathis has been affiliated with Guilford College since 1950 and has served the College in numerous capacities. She retired from the position of Associate Library Director and Curator of the Quaker Collection in May, 1980.

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Editorial Policy

The publication committee is interested in receiving articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in North Carolina and the adjacent geographical area. Articles must be well written and thoroughly documented. Papers on family history should not be submitted. All copy, including footnotes, *should be typed double-space. Articles and correspondence should be sent to:* Herbert Poole, Co-editor; Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C. 27410.

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Cover Illustration

Cover illustration is the logo adopted by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society from the John Collins lithograph of the New Garden Friends Meeting House of 1791. Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

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“Let Not Thy Left Hand Know:” The Unification of George C. Mendenhall

BY

Damon D. Hickey

ALTHOUGH THEY WERE among the first settlers in what eventually became Guilford County, North Carolina, by the middle of the eighteen-hundreds the members of the Society of Friends found themselves in a precarious position. The wave of migration down the Shenandoah Valley from Pennsylvania that led to the establishment of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting of Friends in 1751, New Garden Monthly Meeting in 1754, and Deep River Monthly Meeting in 1778, swept onward throughout the next century, carrying Quakers, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists into the new territories of Ohio and Indiana, and beyond. In the course of their migration the Quakers brought to the South an abhorrence of war and later of slavery that came to be more and more at odds with their neighbors' convictions and interests. As sectional tension mounted, their scruples of conscience were less tolerable, their numbers were declining, the population of non-Quaker neighbors had increased, and many of their own children had left their fellowship.

When James Mendenhall came with his second wife Hannah from Bradford, Pennsylvania, to New Garden Meeting in North Carolina around 1762,¹ he was typical of his coreligionists. All eight of his children were born in Pennsylvania, and the two oldest remained there. When he moved on to Wrightsborough, Georgia, around 1775, he left five children behind, two deceased and three married. Only one remained to make the trek south. Most of his grandchildren lived out their lives in North Carolina, but his great-

grandchildren were founders of new Quaker communities in Ohio and Indiana.² To the Carolina community where he lived for just over a decade James Mendenhall bequeathed his name — Jamestown.³

The Mendenhalls were yeoman farmers and craftsmen “who came not as refugees, nor as imigrants [*sic*], but as pioneers to build here a new civilization, in which justice and good will should take the place of tyranny and armed force.”⁴ Such lofty textbook rhetoric is indeed descriptive of the migrating Friends throughout the American expansion, first as part of William Penn’s “Holy Experiment,” and later as a “peculiar people” dedicated to following the moral dictates of the inward Light in spite of (and sometimes because of) “worldly” opposition. In any event, the Quakers were solid yeoman stock. James was a miller.⁵ His son George, who founded Jamestown and named it for his father, was a farmer and justice of the peace.⁶

A Quaker family settled in one community for more than a generation could well refer to it as “ancestral.” George and Judith Mendenhall’s children rapidly expanded their community. In addition to the family house built by patriarch James in 1765 on the banks of Deep River (now under High Point City Lake),⁷ Jamestown included his grist mill and saw mill and a school for girls built by his son George’s family.⁸ The old Salisbury Road, which passed between the house and the mills, brought travellers to the Mendenhall home, and George Mendenhall kept an inn for them there. According to tradition, an influential rival tavern-keeper got the road moved, whereupon George Mendenhall purchased the land even beyond the new road, thereby laying the basis for the town.⁹

George Mendenhall’s children expanded the family town with their own building. Richard, the third child, born in 1778, built a residence and a store and tanyard near the new road, and the family erected a small brick Friends meeting-house to be used in times of inclement weather when a trip to the more distant Deep River meeting-house proved impossible. (These structures are still standing, and the meeting-house is now the oldest built by Friends in the state.) George Cameron Mendenhall, born 1798 and

therefore twenty years younger than his brother Richard, became as an adult an attorney and built a law school near his home "Telmont" in Jamestown.¹⁰

The Mendenhalls' Jamestown was, therefore, a thriving settlement by the eighteen-thirties, boasting homes, farms, a church, a school, shops, mills, an inn, and professional schools. It also had an active antislavery organization. In 1785 North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends had made slaveholding grounds for disownment.¹¹ Inspired by the example of New Jersey Quaker John Woolman and convinced of slavery's essential inhumanity, Quaker protest against the institution became steadily stronger. In 1816 the North Carolina Manumission Society was organized, with Richard and George C. Mendenhall among its earliest supporters.¹²

In 1824 the Mendenhall family was presented with a crisis. George C. Mendenhall, then about twenty-six years of age, and his cousin Marmaduke married non-Friends, apparently in support of each other, for each was complained of before Deep River Meeting as having accomplished his marriage and attended a marriage "both contrary to Discipline," and "for diviating [*sic*] from plainness both in dress and address." Marmaduke was complained of further for "being concerned in military service."¹³ For Quakers of this time, concerned with preserving the integrity of their community and witness, marriages were supposed to take place after careful inquiry by the meeting. Such an inquiry would disallow a prospective spouse who was not a Friend, so Quakers who were drawn to non-Quaker mates could be married only outside the meeting, "contrary to discipline." The usual consequence was disownment. In most cases a complaint was brought to the monthly meeting, and representatives were appointed to visit the Friend and report back. If they found him contrite and sorrowful for having circumvented the meeting, and genuinely desirous of living "after the manner of Friends," he might be allowed to avoid disownment, having "condemned his misconduct" to the meeting's satisfaction.

The new spouse would naturally be expected not to lead him in a worldly direction, and would be encouraged to seek membership in the meeting also. Since one of the subtle attractions of non-

Quaker women to Quaker men may have been the fact that they were not Quakers, such marriages could be expressions of rebellion against the fairly narrow confines of the meeting's discipline. It is not surprising that many young Friends chose not to "condemn their misconduct" and to remain instead outside the meeting. In any event, they were not "shunned" by the meeting as wayward Mennonites would have been, but were in most instances welcome to remain in the community and even to attend Quaker meetings for worship from time to time, as long as their behavior did not create a scandal. They were, however, barred from the business meetings.

George C. Mendenhall seems indeed to have been a Friend who wanted to loosen the community's control over his conduct, as evidenced by the complaint that he was deviating "from plainness both in dress and address." Quaker men at this time wore clothing that was of plain cut, often without coat lapels or decorative buttons, usually of subdued colors, along with broad-brimmed hats. Some color was apparent among Carolina Friends, and Quaker styles did change, but the dividing line between Quaker dress, originally intended to level the distinction between rich and poor, and the world's fashion was usually clear. Plainness of address meant the use of the singular "thou" and "thee" except when speaking to more than one, a throw-back to the seventeenth-century Quaker protest against addressing social "betters" as "you," as though they counted for more than one, singular "thou." In addition, days of the week and months were referred to by their numbers rather than their "pagan" names. By 1824, these practices no longer bore their original meaning, but had taken on the newer one of identifying a group of people who, in an almost monkish way, had renounced "the world" and its ways to live a life of strict obedience to Christ.

George and Marmaduke Mendenhall's action can hardly have been motivated by a callow adolescent rebellion, since both were twenty-six years of age. The chances are that both men had been drifting away from some of the ways of the meeting for some time, and their love for non-Quaker women, plus their mutual support, caused them to be carried away. George apparently hesitated after

his marriage from completing the break, for the Friends sent by the meeting to visit him reported "that he requested that Friends would wate [*sic*] another month."¹⁴ But since a new year found him "not coming forth to make satisfaction," he was disowned.¹⁵ Cousin Marmaduke's case was delayed still another month, perhaps in the hope that George's unfortunate example would be telling, but he too was finally disowned.¹⁶

There is no evidence that George Mendenhall was, like his cousin, involved with the militia, but there was another problem that came indirectly with his marriage: his bride owned slaves. Given the Quakers' commitment to ending slavery at least among themselves, and the Mendenhalls' particular convictions, a slaveholding, non-Quaker in-law must have been something of a shock. Brother Richard, at forty-six old enough to be George's father, could be expected to have been particularly upset since he had been one of the principal organizers of the North Carolina Manumission Society, and had gotten his younger brother interested in the unofficial Jamestown "branch." Yet it appears he was a force for toleration and patience. In a chapter of Allen Jay's *Autobiography* that has been attributed to Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, Richard's granddaughter, it is stated that Eliza, George's bride,

was a kindly, sensitive woman and was strangely attached to and influenced by the elder brother of her husband, Richard Mendenhall, who was in all of his mature yars a leader in the yearly meeting and one of the very first to express openly antislavery views and labor for the manumission of slaves. Eliza Dunn Mendenhall sympathized with these views and wished her own slaves liberated, and had it not been for the hasty, injudicious action of the Friends in disowning her husband would have most likely become a Friend herself.¹⁷

It seems likely that George hoped his brother's influence and time would bring about the resolution of the crisis with his meeting, but the Friends were not willing to wait. In any event, the disownment confirmed him in a course that was independent of Friends, but curiously parallel to and in close contact with them. In the end he and his family were to feel, more heavily than most Quaker families,

the weight of their slaves' bondage.

In 1826, less than two years later, Eliza Mendenhall died, apparently shortly after the birth in 1825 of their son, James Ruffin. The child was taken in by brother Richard's wife Mary, along with their own brood of seven.¹⁸

The particularly close relationship between the Mendenhall brothers Richard and George was now strengthened in the death of George's wife and his brother and sister-in-law's care of young James Ruffin. Mary Mendenhall Hobbs remarked on the relationship between her grandfather and great-uncle:

Thus within less than a mile of each other these two congenial families lived, mutually helpful, sharing each other's joys and sorrows, encouraging one another in every good word and work.¹⁹

With twenty years' difference in age between them, Richard must have seemed more a father to George than an elder brother, especially since their own father had died while George was still small. Despite their difference in age and outlook, they seemed to share a commitment to the eventual freedom and dignity of all people, a love of Quaker principles, and a dedication to public service.

Richard, unlike his younger brother, was never a professional man. Born in 1778, he and his elder brother Stephen were sent in 1792, when Richard was fourteen, to learn the potter's and tanner's trades, respectively. When Stephen died, Richard quit his apprenticeship and took up his brother's, tanning being apparently more needful to the family than pottery.²⁰

Returning home he set up trade, opened a store, and ran for the state House of Commons in 1805, where he served one term. Married to Mary Pegg in 1815, he almost immediately plunged into the organization of the North Carolina Manumission Society and into yearly meeting activity. A plain-cut, undyed Quaker suit at Guilford College, said to have been his, is mute testimony to both his Quakerliness and his opposition to slavery, since it recalls the protest of pioneer Quaker abolitionist John Woolman who refused to wear dyed clothes because of the slave labor used in the raising of

indigo.

In 1832, George C. Mendenhall remarried, this time to a Friend, Delphina E. Gardner. Although married outside her home meeting of Cane Creek, Delphina E. Gardner Mendenhall was not disowned, because she came to the women's meeting for business "with an offering to this meeting condemning her out going in marriage,"²¹ which was accepted, after objections were dealt with, a month later.²² In other words, she apologized for having wed a non-Friend, outside the meeting, and her meeting accepted her apology. Three months thereafter she requested a clear certificate to transfer her membership to Deep River,²³ and it was granted the following month.²⁴ She was received two months later by the meeting that had disowned her husband eleven years before.²⁵ One can only speculate as to the objection raised at Cane Creek, but the fact that she was not disowned, and that Deep River received her, may indicate some mellowing of attitudes on the part of Friends toward George who, despite his deviations from Friends' norms, must have seemed very Quakerly.

Delphina E. Mendenhall was certainly a solid Friend, one of a breed of formidable Quaker women who, since the seventeenth century, have impressed a great many men, both Quaker and non-Quaker. Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, another representative of the breed, frequently quoted Quaker poet John Greenleaf Whittier's having said of her, years later, "Delphina? Why, she is a whole Quarterly Meeting in herself."²⁶ Not only was she a very active Friend, as well as a hostess to her husband's many house guests, but she was also a poet herself. Her work was more sentimental and religious than Whittier's, and she made frequent contributions to the *Friends Review*, a Philadelphia Quaker periodical. In her later years she also served as clerk of North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

George C. Mendenhall may have found that there were advantages to having been disowned by the Friends, the main being that he no longer had to worry about being disowned. Any of the actions forbidden by the discipline could be undertaken if conscience permitted. His slaves, while ultimately a source of great trial, may initially have been a source of income. Left fatherless at an

early age, George grew up when the family's resources were slim. Although he was admitted to the North Carolina bar near the age of twenty-one, he practiced little law for two years, lacking a horse or the ability to pay expenses while away at court. His marriage and the slaves it brought may have given some profit from their rented labor,²⁷ although he is reported to have regretted the necessity of hiring them out, and tried to be certain that they were not hired to cruel masters.²⁸

Leaving the Society of Friends enabled him to broaden his horizons by seeking public office. Although brother Richard had represented Guilford County in the North Carolina House of Commons in 1805-6,²⁹ and their father had been a justice of the peace,³⁰ the danger of having to take or administer oaths induced the North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1809 to declare "that if any of our members accept, or act in the office of member of the Federal or State Legislature, Justice of the Peace, Clerk of a Court, Coroner, Sheriff or Constable . . . they be disowned."³¹ For an aspiring young attorney then, as now, political office was one of the most useful means to advancement, and George C. Mendenhall was ambitious enough not to hesitate once he was no longer constrained by Quaker rules. He served in the House of Commons in 1828-30, and was appointed to fill an unexpired term, December 1830-31. He was in the Senate, 1833-34, but returned to the lower house, 1840-43.

During his second legislative term, 1829-30, he became chairman of the Claims Committee and was appointed to a special committee to consider building a state penitentiary, a cause he would pursue without success for the next decade and a half.³² Ordinary crimes were punished by hanging, branding, dismemberment, and pillory, rather than imprisonment, since there was no state prison.³³ George Mendenhall argued that the administration of justice was thwarted by punishments so cruel that juries would release guilty persons rather than convict them.³⁴ Despite his labors and repeated introductions of legislation, it required a Reconstruction statute in 1868 before a state prison was built.³⁵

In the assembly, George Mendenhall proved to be a foe of

slavery, or at least a friend of its enemies. In 1830, he voted with the minority against a bill to prohibit teaching slaves to read.³⁶ Three days later he voted with the majority to table a bill that singled out *Greensborough Patriot* editor William Swaim for prosecution because of his antislavery writings.³⁷ He voted against a successful bill that prohibited "free persons of color" from peddling or hawking outside their home counties.³⁸ Another successful bill, to prevent circulation of "seditious" publications (that is, antislavery literature), received a "nay" from George Mendenhall.³⁹ In later years he particularly regretted the passage of this piece of legislation.

In addition to promoting a state penitentiary and opposing proslavery legislation, George C. Mendenhall was active in advancing education for the state. In 1833, for example, he introduced two bills in the state Senate, one to incorporate the Greensborough Academy and Manual Labor School, and the other to incorporate the Trustees of New Garden Boarding School.⁴⁰ The latter was a particularly tricky and difficult piece of work, since the school was to be North Carolina Yearly Meeting's institution where young Friends could receive a "guarded" Quaker education.

The assembly had been in an anti-Quaker mood, and legislation was repeatedly introduced that would have removed the exemption granted Friends and other "peace churches" from participation in the militia.⁴¹ Brother Richard noted that the bills were a gratuitous slap, since the country was at peace. He sarcastically suggested that

If the Quakers should be all legislated out of the state it may be necessary to have a provision that no Quaker living out of the state shall hold a gold mine in it lest he should draw away some of the precious metal to other states [as Quakers were doing then with their slaves], but that if he depart he shall sell to a slaveholder or to some person possessed of a sense of rectitude and justice and who understands Chartered and Religious Liberty and is able to tell what drove our fathers to seek this Western Hemisphere and who understand the true meaning of the word PERSECUTION that it only has a bearing or any meaning when it operates on their dear selves.

Having expended his bitterness, he continued,

But to be in earnest I view legislating on that subject called the Quaker bill rather a work of spite particularly in this time of Peace a kind unbecoming retort because the Quakers are forward in removing their Negroes and so it will be viewed by most of our Sister States and the Intelligent world, and of course must be rather on the belittling [*sic*] order in the estimation of those governments who abhor slavery which by the by is more than 3/4ths of the whole. Even Hayti will consider it contemptable [*sic*].⁴²

This letter, which is the only surviving correspondence between the brothers, is particularly interesting because Richard clearly did not think of George in the same category as the slaveholders against whom he was inveighing.

In this anti-Quaker climate the yearly meeting turned to one of the sons Friends had disowned, as their best friend in Raleigh, and asked him to use his judgment in giving a name to the new school and getting its incorporation approved. He chose, perhaps with some inward satisfaction, the most expedient course of omitting any reference to Friends in the name, calling it simply New Garden Boarding School, and thereby securing the establishment of the institution that was eventually to become Guilford College.⁴³ Clearly it was useful to have friendly, disowned Friends in high places.

By the 1842 session George Mendenhall, back in the lower house since 1840, was chairman of the Education Committee. An unsigned eulogy in the *Greensborough Patriot* after his death in 1860 summarized his devotion to education:

He was a special advocate of the system of Common Schools, and ever cherished a lively interest in those of a higher grade. In 1840, he was appointed Trustee of the University. In 1844 [he] was elected President of the Board of Trustees of Greensborough Female College.⁴⁴

George Mendenhall's legislative career was also marked by a concern with the judiciary, and he chaired the House of Judiciary Committee, as well as the Education Committee, after 1840, a position that gave him the power to promote his penitentiary bill, at least in the House. He was honored in 1842 by being named a justice of the peace for Guilford County, the position previously

held by his father, George.⁴⁵

His voting record in the assembly seems to support Mary Mendenhall Hobb's assertion of his Whiggish sympathies and alliance with Governor John Motley Morehead, a fellow resident of Guilford County.⁴⁶ In 1830, for example, he voted in opposition to the doctrine of Nullification and supported a resolution calling for the preservation of the Union.⁴⁷ He was known to be an advocate of internal improvements.⁴⁸ He opposed slavery. He opposed a resolution endorsing the reelection of Andrew Jackson.⁴⁹ He voted against a section of a resolution that instructed the state's U.S. senators to vote against the tariff law as protective of northern manufacturing interests.⁴⁰ According to information said to have been supplied by George Mendenhall himself, he

In 1843 was a candidate for Congress and failed in his election by ninety votes, on the grounds that he was born and brought up a Quaker, and that they were opposed to slavery, although he was the largest slave holder in his native county.⁵¹

Actually he lost by 192⁵² or 193⁵³ votes, but the reason he gave may be correct. The election pitted two Whigs against each other, and the *Greensborough Patriot* pointed out that George Mendenhall and his opponent, Edmund Deberry, "agreed perfectly touching the great national interests of the country."⁵⁴ Since Mendenhall appears to have been the better-known of the two,⁵⁵ and the campaign was without great interest,⁵⁶ his loss may have been attributable to suspicions of his abolitionist Quaker upbringing. If so, he suffered a dual disownment, first by the Friends for not being Quakerly enough, and then by a majority of the electorate for being too Quakerly, at least on the subject of slavery.

The story of North Carolina Friends and slavery has been told repeatedly and need not be repeated at length here, although a summary may prove helpful to understanding the interesting parallel between the corporate response of North Carolina Friends and the individual action later adopted by George C. Mendenhall. For slaveholders interested in freeing their bondsmen, a series of problems sharply limited options. A state statute of 1777 forbade almost all outright manumission, leaving manumitted slaves at the

mercy of authorities who could then legally reenslave them to cruel masters.⁵⁷ In 1796 a new law permitted religious groups to appoint trustees to receive gifts of any type of property.⁵⁸ Consequently, in 1808 the yearly meeting reluctantly decided to receive the slaves of its members until the law was changed to allow them to be set free.⁵⁹ Disappointed heirs still sued repeatedly to try to gain return of the human "property."⁶⁰

As Friends moved in increasing numbers into Ohio and Indiana the number of those left behind to care for the slaves decreased, while the slave population grew.⁶¹ In a situation parallel to George C. Mendenhall's, the yearly meeting trustees worried that hiring their charges out to non-Friends risked cruel treatment that they would, ironically, be spared at the hands of their original Quaker masters.⁶² Furthermore, most of the Friends' slaves lived in eastern North Carolina, while the Quaker population center had shifted to the piedmont, which had also become the center of manumission activity.⁶³ The North Carolina Manumission Society, virtually the secular arm of the Quaker effort, was principally a piedmont phenomenon.

As it became apparent that North Carolina was not going to liberalize its laws in regard to manumission, it occurred to Friends that their slaves could follow their former owners into freedom in Ohio and Indiana. Deep River Quarterly Meeting initiated in 1822 the idea of removal to free territory, and the first group left in 1824.⁶⁴ It must be assumed that this solution met with mixed emotions even among the western Friends, many of whom must have left slave territory to get away from the morally difficult and seemingly insoluble issue. In fact, some Quakers had even migrated without taking their slaves or making provision for them either, leaving them in Carolina to fend for themselves and to try to avoid reenslavement.⁶⁵

In 1823 President Jean Pierre Boyer of Haiti announced an invitation to former slaves to resettle on their own land in Haiti. The Manumission Society endorsed the plan in 1824, and the yearly meeting followed suit, directing its meeting for sufferings (an executive committee) to manage slave affairs henceforth.⁶⁶ In

addition, North Carolina Friends considered the possibility of emigration of their charges to Africa, and the Manumission Society even changed its name in 1817 to the North Carolina Manumission and Colonization Society.⁶⁷ The crowning achievement of these efforts was the sailing to Haiti in 1826 of the *Sally Ann*, chartered to transport the Quakers' bondsmen.⁶⁸

Yet even Haiti and Liberia proved to be disappointments, for the ex-slaves were not welcomed by the natives, and many were unfit by training or experience to begin lives in a hostile country. The voyages were hard, contributing to illness and disenchantment. Responding to rumors of unhappy endings, as well as to fear of ocean voyages, many slaves simply refused to leave, forcing the yearly meeting to continue supporting them.⁶⁹ Then Ohio in 1829 and Indiana in 1831 began to require all black residents to furnish a \$500 bond and proof of their freedom. Unable to do so, many fled to Canada.⁷⁰ Hostile crowds in Pennsylvania and New Jersey prevented settlement of freedmen there as well.⁷¹

The only alternative remaining seemed to be the efforts of individuals or small groups of Friends to resettle small numbers of slaves in Ohio and Indiana, providing them with land and money, and giving them practical training. In 1834 and 1835 two expeditions succeeded in resettling 190 in this way,⁷² much as George C. Mendenhall was to do for his own slaves in 1855.

In all of these activities Richard Mendenhall was a leader, serving as an officer in the Manumission Society and corresponding extensively with the meeting for sufferings in regard to the *Sally Ann* preparations just about the time his brother George was becoming a new slaveholder. It is not surprising that George and Eliza Mendenhall were strongly affected by Richard's quiet passion. According to Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, the couple had intended to free their slaves, but because they felt an obligation to transport them to free territory, find them homes and employment, and equip them with marketable skills, they were unable to complete their intention before Eliza died.⁷³ It is not fully clear why her widower did not complete their plans shortly after her death, but he may have hung back from freeing his slaves until he could assess the

results of the Quakers' efforts.

George C. Mendenhall appears to have been a skillful politician, carefully avoiding wherever possible creating a public impression in regard to the volatile slavery issue that would have rendered him less than fully effective as a community leader. Having chosen a political career and accepted the burdens of slaveholding, he then used his position to further principles that Friends espoused, including the elimination, or at least the amelioration, of slavery. Apparently his brother Richard understood his vocation, for he never seems to have abandoned the younger man. George must have felt divided at times, drawn toward his Quaker heritage and prodded by his Quaker conscience, with all of his close family still firm Friends. Yet in some ways he lived apart, first as the husband of a non-Friend and a renegade of sorts, later as a public man and a slaveholder in his own right. The property listed in his will also showed him to have become a man of great material wealth, primarily in slaves and land (part of which came through his marriages),⁷⁴ in stark contrast to the poor Quaker youth he had once been, too poor even to buy a horse. His independent course brought wealth and power, but it also forced him to bear alone, except for his wife, the burden of slavery that the Friends shared as a religious fellowship.

Henry S. Newman, a British Friend, described two meetings for worship in 1847, during which Benjamin Seebohm, a traveling minister, challenged George Mendenhall to consider, "What is it that lies between thee and thy God? — Is it any portion of estate, or of supposed estate?" that is, his slaves.⁷⁵ According to Newman, "From that time this slaveholder endeavored to secure the emancipation of his slaves."⁷⁶

Newman cannot be correct if he was suggesting that George Mendenhall was not concerned before 1847 with his slaves' freedom, but it is quite possible that, defeated for Congress because of his supposed Quaker opposition to slavery, he was galvanized by Seebohm's words. Having "always made known that his unshaken religious belief was that of the doctrine held by the society of Friends,"⁷⁷ but now deprived of any further advancement in public

office, and faced with a climate in which emancipation would be increasingly more difficult, he may have decided to bring the divided parts of himself together and to accomplish, or at least begin, the liberation of the bondsmen whose ownership had kept him from being reconciled with himself.

In 1849 and 1850 events forced George Mendenhall to assume a far more public position in regard to abolitionists than he may have preferred. Two Wesleyan Methodist ministers, Adam Crooks and Jesse McBride, were arrested for inciting insurrection by distributing seditious antislavery literature, charged under the law that George Mendenhall had opposed in the Assembly. In fact, McBride had only given an antislavery pamphlet to the little daughter of a white family that owned no slaves, and Crooks was not even present.⁷⁸ The case was tried in Forsyth County and the Methodists were defended by the two largest slaveholders in Guilford County: Governor Morehead's brother James and George C. Mendenhall.⁷⁹ Neither attorney sought to make slavery the issue, but both tried to convince the jury that McBride's action could not possibly have incited insurrection, as the little girl could not yet read and the family had no slaves. Nevertheless McBride was convicted and sentenced to twenty lashes, the pillory, and imprisonment, while Crooks was set free. Later George Mendenhall warned Crooks not to attend a public gathering at Union because of the danger of riot, and Crooks obligingly stayed away.⁸⁰ The McBride and Crooks incident may have led George Mendenhall to consider even more carefully the precariousness of his position as tensions over slavery mounted.

Crooks, a friend of Richard Mendenhall and a guest in his home during at least one of his journeys through Guilford, described George C. Mendenhall as

A little over six feet, well proportioned, very straight, has a round, high head, light auburn hair, mechanical and intellectual powers large; is a good reasoner, and quite gentlemanly in his manners.⁸¹

A photograph in the Guilford College Library shows a serious, handsome George Mendenhall, dark and lean with a deeply lined

face.

It is not certain whether Delphina Mendenhall suggested to her husband that they undertake at last to free their slaves, or whether, as Mary Mendenhall Hobbs asserts, it was George's plan from the start.⁸² In either case they did begin the task of manumission. Mary Hobbs states that, "group by group," they were taken by George and Delphina and settled personally by them in Ohio communities.⁸³

Just how many were freed in this way is unclear, but there is record of at least one group of twenty-eight freed and established in Logan County, Ohio, in 1855, all of them taking the Mendenhall surname. The Mendenhalls did not accompany this group, but employed a trusted neighbor, John White, to superintend the transfer. George Mendenhall executed the necessary papers in Davidson County, North Carolina, and told no one at home of their plans since, as he wrote to Asa and Edith Williams and Joshua Marmon in Ohio,

This may seem strange to you residing in Ohio, but an impression very Strong has been made on me through most of 1853 and all of 1854 so far, and often repeated was the impression that stillness, even to not speaking a word was the first and important duty in securing success . . . We are full believers in the 3d verse of the 6th chapter of Matthew on this subject.⁸⁴

The passage cited enjoins those who give alms to "let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." For the Mendenhalls there were plenty of earthly reasons for such secrecy, and they were forced, for the success of their project, to keep up the appearance of being ordinary, wealthy slaveholders. The fact that George had been defeated in his bid for Congress in 1843 because of suspected abolitionist sympathies was reason enough for caution, and the threat of violence toward McBride and Crooks made their peril still clearer.

Secrecy was again required when George Mendenhall was asked in 1859 to defend two free black seamen who were accused of assisting a Wilmington, North Carolina, slave to escape. Mendenhall was retained secretly by the Northern abolitionists of the

American Missionary Association, but before the trial took place he was dead.⁸⁵

George C. Mendenhall was drowned crossing the rain-swollen Uwharrie River in Randolph County on March 10, 1860.⁸⁶ According to Adam Crooks's widow, "When found his arms were thrown upon the bank and in his hands he held his satchel containing manumission papers for all his slaves who were still in the South."⁸⁷ While this statement is not confirmed elsewhere it is true that George C. Mendenhall's will liberated his slaves, and directed that the estate should pay for their care and relocation in free territory.⁸⁸ According to Delphina Mendenhall's journal, an attempt was made in 1861 to take all but the sick to Ohio, but they "were stopped at Kernersville by an armed mob and returned home" the next day. Again, in 1864, Delphina herself started with nine to Norfolk, Virginia, but was forced for reasons unstated to leave them at Suffolk.⁸⁹ The journal entries from 1861 through 1864 are a heartrending litany of slaves unable to work because of illness or injury, Delphina tending the sick; cold winters; and hardship. Much of the estate must have been used up, despite the small income derived from hiring out the slaves' labor.⁹⁰ Mrs. Crooks stated the matter succinctly: "The family were very great sufferers during the war."⁹¹

It is never clear exactly how many slaves George C. Mendenhall owned. He is described as "the largest slaveholder"⁹² or one of the two largest slaveholders⁹³ in Guilford County, and as having "about one hundred slaves" in 1849, according to his brother Richard.⁹⁴ Adam Crooks's widow, who knew both George and Delphina, wrote in 1875 that between them they had "liberated nearly eighty thousand dollar's worth" of slaves.⁹⁵ The 1850 census, however, shows that George Mendenhall owned only thirty-five slaves in that year, considerably fewer than brother Richard mentioned the previous year. It is known that twenty-eight were taken to Ohio in 1855.⁹⁶ Furthermore, the journal of the estate kept by Delphina Mendenhall after George's death mentions by name at least another thirty-five slaves, so the census may simply be in error.⁹⁷

Mary Mendenhall Hobbs stated that Eliza Dunn was "the heir to

a large number" of slaves, and that after her marriage to George, "the Negro population of the estate grew with wonderful rapidity," partly because he "never sold a slave, but he bought several who came to him pleading that he would not allow them to be put up at public auction and very likely sent into the more southern states."⁹⁸ She further noted that the Mendenhall estate was unable to provide work for all the slaves, and so "he was obliged to send many of them from home to labor for others, a thing he very much deprecated."⁹⁹ She did not say what type of work they did for hire, but after George's death his widow hired them to work on farms, in grist mills, in the nearby Gardner gold mine, and in caring for sick neighbors.¹⁰⁰ They also worked in the Mendenhall grist mill, sawmill, blacksmith shop, carpenter shop, farm, and home.¹⁰¹

During the last years of his life, perhaps beginning with Benjamin Seeborn's sermons in 1847, George Mendenhall seemed to undergo a change. His political career behind him, he began in earnest to achieve a reconciliation within himself. Shortly after his death, his widow wrote that she had noted a particular change in him during the last year of his life:

With the beginning of the year [he] seemed to be earnestly engaged to obey the command, "Set thy house in order." And it was evident to me that the words of the Lord Jesus, "Thou art loosed from thine affinity" had been applied to him.¹⁰²

The anonymous eulogist of the *Greensborough Patriot* echoed her theme:

Through life he was a believer in the christian religion, and often lamented that he had not lived in more perfect obedience to its dictates; and some who knew him best, have the same consoling assurance, that a few months previous to his death, he experienced a decided change, and was endeavoring to conform his conduct entirely to the requirements of the christian character.¹⁰³

Whatever the explanation of these enigmatic passages, it appears that George Mendenhall was making a conscious effort to reunite his divided self. In his will he made a final effort. In addition to caring for his wife's and son's needs, he endowed a new meeting-

house for the Deep River Meeting that had long ago disowned him; and he directed his wife to convey his slaves to freedom.¹⁰⁴

When George Mendenhall died his country was about to come apart. His widow eulogized him as "a true patriot. He loved his country, his whole country . . . and during the last winter of his life, denounced all threats of North or South to sever the Union."¹⁰⁵ He had spent most of his adult life a divided man, forced by circumstance even in his last years to keep his left hand from knowing what his right was doing, by secretly spiriting his slaves to freedom. In the end, as he came together, he was more distressed by the divisions that were about to tear the nation along ragged lines. The consolation his wife and family clung to as they faced that ugly division and the suffering that it brought them, was that George Mendenhall had finished his life a unified man.

1. Henry Hart Beeson, *The Mendenhalls: A Genealogy* (Houston: The Author, 1969), p. 13.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-37.

3. Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, "Old Jamestown," typescript, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, Greensboro, N. C., p. 16.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

5. Beeson, p. 13.

6. William Mendenhall, *History, Correspondence and Pedigrees of the Mendenhalls* (Greenville, Ohio: Charles R. Kemble Press, 1912), p. 251.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 262.

8. Hobbs, "Old Jamestown," pp. 7, 13.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

11. Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1896), p. 212.

12. H. M. Wagstaff, editor, *Minutes of the N. C. Manumission Society, 1816-1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934), p. 13.

13. Deep River Monthly Meeting of Friends, Minutes, v. 2, Meeting of IX-2-1824.

14. *Ibid.*, Meeting of XI-4-1824.

15. *Ibid.*, Meeting of I-6-1825.

16. *Ibid.*, Meeting of II-3-1825.

17. Allen Jay, *Autobiography* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1910), p. 233. A hand-written note in one of the copies in the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, Greensboro, N. C., states that Mary Mendenhall Hobbs had written into her copy of the book the fact that she wrote the essays on Dr.

Nereus Mendenhall and Delphina E. Mendenhall for Allen Jay, but requested that her name not appear.

18. Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, "Nereus Mendenhall," *Quaker Biographies*, ser. 2, v. 5 (Philadelphia: Friends Book Store, n.d.), p. 255.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 256.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 254.

21. Cane Creek Monthly Meeting of Friends, Women's Minutes, v. 2, Meeting of XII-1-1832.

22. *Ibid.*, Meeting of I-5-1833.

23. *Ibid.*, Meeting of IV-6-1833.

24. *Ibid.*, Meeting of V-4-1833.

25. Deep River Monthly Meeting of Friends, Women's Minutes, v. 1, Meeting of VII-4-1833.

26. Hobbs, "Nereus Mendenhall," p. 256.

27. Mendenhall, p. 262.

28. Jay, pp. 233-234.

29. Mendenhall, p. 254; and John L. Cheney, Jr., editor, *North Carolina Government, 1585-1974* (Raleigh: N. C. Department of the Secretary of State, 1975), pp. 250, 252.

30. Mendenhall, p. 251.

31. North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, "The Discipline of Friends . . . 1809," typescript copy (1964), Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, Greensboro, N. C., p. 230.

32. North Carolina, *Journals of the Senate and House of Commons* (Raleigh), House of Commons, 25 November 1829.

33. Robert G. Cruikshank and Allan Dameron, *First in Freedom and Other Myths* (n.p., n.d.), p. 37.

34. North Carolina, House of Commons, 2 January 1830.

35. Cruikshank, p. 39.

36. North Carolina, House of Commons, 22 December 1830.

37. *Ibid.*, 25 December 1830.

38. *Ibid.*, 3 January 1831.

39. *Ibid.*, 6 January 1831.

40. North Carolina, Senate, 18 December and 31 December 1833.

41. North Carolina, House of Commons, 24 November, 2 December, and 7 December 1829.

42. Richard Mendenhall to George C. Mendenhall, XII-22-1828, Mendenhall-Hobbs Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, Greensboro, N. C.

43. Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, *Guilford: A Quaker College* (Greensboro: Guilford College, 1937), pp. 24-26.

44. "George C. Mendenhall," *Greensborough Patriot*, 22 June 1860.

45. North Carolina, House of Commons, 31 December 1842.

46. Hobbs, "Old Jamestown," p. 11.

47. North Carolina, House of Commons, 31 December 1830.

48. "George C. Mendenhall," *Greensborough Patriot*, 22 June 1860.
49. North Carolina, House of Commons, 6 January 1831.
50. *Ibid.*, 23 January 1843.
51. Mendenhall, p. 262.
52. *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U. S. Elections* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, 1976), p. 578.
53. *Greensborough Patriot*, 19 August 1843.
54. *Ibid.*, 20 May 1843.
55. *Ibid.*, 25 February 1843.
56. *Ibid.*, 5 August 1843.
57. Peter Kent Oppen, "North Carolina Quakers: Reluctant Slaveholders," *North Carolina Historical Review* 70 (January 1975): 38.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 38–39.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 42–45.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 46–49.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 49–54.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 54–55.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 56–57.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
73. Hobbs, "Nereus Mendenhall," pp. 254–255.
74. Will of George C. Mendenhall and Estate Journal, Mendenhall-Hobbs Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, Greensboro, N. C.
75. Henry Stanley Newman, *The Young Man of God: Memories of Stanley Pumphrey* (London: S. W. Partridge, n.d.), pp. 269–270.
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77. Mendenhall, p. 262.
78. Clifton H. Johnson, "Abolitionist Missionary Activities in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 40 (July 1963): 295–320; Mrs. E. W. Crooks, *Life of Rev. A. Crooks* (Syracuse: D. S. Kinney, Wesleyan Methodist Publishing House, 1875), pp. 36–111; and *Greensborough Patriot*, 28 September, 5 October, and 12 October 1850.
79. Crooks, p. 48.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
82. Jay, p. 234.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 235.
84. George C. Mendenhall to Asa Williams, Edith Williams, and Joshua

Marmon, 14 July 1854, photocopy, Mendenhall-Hobbs Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, Greensboro, N. C.

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86. *Greensborough Patriot*, 16 March 1860.

87. Crooks, p. 110.

88. Will of George C. Mendenhall and Estate Journal.

89. *Ibid.*,

90. *Ibid.*

91. Crooks, p. 110.

92. Mendenhall, p. 262.

93. Crooks, p. 48.

94. Mendenhall, p. 22.

95. Crooks, p. 109.

96. Stephen E. Haller and Robert H. Smith, Jr., *Register of Blacks in the Miami Valley: A Name Abstract (1805-1857)* (n.p.: 1977), pp. 21-24.

97. Will of George C. Mendenhall and Estate Journal.

98. Hobbs, "Nereus Mendenhall," pp. 254-255.

99. Jay, pp. 233-234.

100. Will of George C. Mendenhall and Estate Journal.

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102. Delphina E. Mendenhall to Richard Junius Mendenhall, IV-9-1860, Delphina Mendenhall Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, Greensboro, N. C.

103. "George C. Mendenhall," *Greensborough Patriot*, 22 June 1860.

104. Will of George C. Mendenhall and Estate Journal.

103. Delphina E. Mendenhall to Cyrus Mendenhall, III-13-1860, Delphina Mendenhall Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, Greensboro, N. C.

North Carolina Quakers: The Freedmen's Friends

BY

Susan Tucker Hatcher

NORTH CAROLINA QUAKERS achieved abolitionist status more than two decades before their program achieved practical fruition. In the interim, Friends endured unusual suffering, even though their religious principles, for the most part, separated them from the calamities of war that others personally experienced. By war's end, emigration had greatly depleted the Quaker ranks but not their commitment to promote the real welfare of the newly freed slaves. Despite their own destitution at the end of hostilities, the efforts of North Carolina Friends, especially in Guilford County, to aid freedmen during Reconstruction were as dedicated and prodigious, within their means, as had been their earlier antislavery activities.

Even before North Carolina joined the Confederacy, Quakers were exercised over the issues of secession and the possibility of war. At a Meeting for Sufferings held on April 8, 1861, they appointed a committee to prepare a "short declaration of our principles particularly in regard to war for circulation among our members and others."¹ But it was not until the passage of the North Carolina Ordinance of Secession in May, 1861, that Quakers suffering for conscience sake aroused enmity both for their well-known testimony against the system of slavery, the leading object of the contest, and for their refusal to bear arms in the Confederate cause.

The secession ordinance and the ensuing efforts to promote volunteering did not escape notice nor disciplinary action by the Society of Friends. At the very beginning of "the great distress" the New Garden Monthly Meeting Minutes recorded a "complaint against Andrew Stanley for volunteering as a soldier. We testify

against such and disown him from membership among us. . . .”² Far more common, however, was the practice reflected in an entry authorizing the formation of committees to assist clerks in “making out certificates for applicants who wish to avail themselves of the exemption” to military service.³ A flurry of called meetings resulted in the action taken at the North Carolina Yearly Meeting for Sufferings held on June 3, 1861. This meeting approved a petition to the Congress of the United States, the Congress of the Confederate States, and the Legislature of North Carolina “praying them to legislate for the speedy restoration of peace within our borders.”⁴

As it had during antebellum days, the London Yearly Meeting continued to be supportive of Friends in America. An address from London was read at the September 16, 1861 Meeting for Sufferings relaying “sympathy for us in our trials” during the “distracted condition of our country” and giving “tender counsel.”⁵ The Guilford Quakers needed all the support they could get. Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, daughter of a prominent Guilford Quaker, Dr. Nereus Mendenhall, remembers her reaction to the outbreak of war as feeling “in the grip of forces hostile to our Quaker principles. . . . Our people were leaving the South by every conveyance and along all routes. . . . Whole Meetings were depopulated; neighborhoods were stripped of their most energetic citizens.”⁶

The Guilford Quakers were yet to face their greatest trial. This began in August, 1862, when the Confederate Congress passed a Conscription act. “During the war, 1862–1865,” later reminisced Addison Coffin, a Quaker native of Guilford County, “there were many hundreds of young men and boys, [who] fled . . . to avoid conscription into the Southern Army.”⁷ Coffin said he assisted in conducting these emigrants, mostly Friends, from Greensboro, North Carolina, to Indianapolis and intervening points in Ohio.

Meanwhile, Friends did not passively accept the draft law. In 1862, the Society petitioned the state legislature and the Confederate Congress for relief. In the memorial sent to the Congress in Richmond, Quakers requested repeal or modification of that part of the act that included Friends. “We have enlisted under the banner of the Captain of our soul’s salvation, Jesus Christ, the

Prince of Peace; therefore, in obedience to his express command, we cannot fight, or aid directly or indirectly in any carnal wars.”⁸ The legislature agreed to exempt each Friend from military duty upon payment of one hundred dollars. The Confederate Congress in late 1862 permitted exemption at a higher price — five hundred dollars.

These exemption acts did not insulate Quakers from malice and violence. The three categories most susceptible to persecution because of their refusal to fight were those drafted prior to passage of the law, “newly convinced members” (reportedly about 830 fitted this description, and they were the major target), and those whose consciences prevented payment of the fee.⁹ “Rude arrests, short but uncertain imprisonments and violent threatenings were the common lot of many who were drafted or conscripted, but refused to fight.”¹⁰ “Friends were watched and informed upon by people who lived nearby. . . . All Friends were suspect and you never could tell who might be nosing around to bring you to trial. . . . Several of our members were imprisoned . . . for refusing to drill and subjected to the most cruel treatment by officers in charge.”¹¹ Yet the Society reported that, of the Friends giving testimony against war, “not one suffered a violent death,” thanks no doubt to the “overruling Providence of Him by whom ‘Even the very hairs of our head are all numbered.’”¹² In late 1864 the Society foresaw “the prospect of great scarcity of food before the next harvest” and, as a probable consequence, a large emigration from the state in the spring of 1865.¹³ The Carolina Quakers did not suffer for want of the necessities, because of the mildness of the climate, the productivity of the farms, the ability of the women to convert raw materials into cloth, and most of all the cooperative spirit among the people.¹⁴

The pecuniary loss sustained by the Quaker refusal to bear arms was considerable. Besides having to pay exemption fees to the North Carolina legislature and the Confederate Congress, Friends were often marked for plunder because of their alleged sympathy for the Union cause.¹⁵ In some cases, they hired guards to protect their property, but the Society acknowledged this practice to be inconsistent with bearing testimony against war.¹⁶ Adding to their

financial burden was the requirement that Friends quarter troops at various times during the four-year struggle. But by far the heaviest cost resulted from the desolating march of General Sherman in the spring of 1865. "In not a few cases, Friends were pointed out as very obstinate Secessionists and deserving of no mercy."¹⁷ The Quakers were "between the upper and the nether millstones. They were North Carolinians in thought and feeling, opposed to slavery, having long before the war freed their own slaves . . . opposed to all war and constantly out of sympathy with the methods taken by the North to settle that puzzling question. Still as only the coming of the Yankess could stop the carnage they were . . . glad to have them come on and be done with the horrible affair."¹⁸ After the war, like their fellow Southerners, Friends were hard hit by depreciated currency. The Meeting for Sufferings lamented that "\$344 of [Confederate] bank notes" were "worth about twenty-five cents to the dollar," and directed the treasurer to apply the depreciated bank bills to the purchasing of Bibles.¹⁹

For the most part, Friends stoically accepted suffering in support of their testimony against the war, even counting themselves luckier than the general population. Their attitude is suggested in an entry from the Yearly Meeting Minute of Advice of 1865: "Delivered, as we have been saved even in the fiery furnace into which the nation has been thrown . . . we cannot but acknowledge that the Lord hath done great things for us. . . ."²⁰ A Friend in North Carolina wrote to the committee in Philadelphia, who had given help through these trials: "Freeing the African race . . . and undoing their heavy burden and letting the oppressed go free . . . in great measure compensates us for our many privations."²¹ According to Mary Hobbs, there was "not a tithe of complaint" by Quakers over a situation in which their "farms were run down, stock gone, implements worn out, fences burned up, houses dilapidated, schools closed and children barefoot and tattered."²²

During the waning days of the war, Friends in Guilford, Alamance, Chatham, and Randolph counties were placed in the greatest peril. They lived in daily expectation that General Sher-

man's Army, camped to the east of them, would march directly across their land, destroying their property as it had done in countless other districts.²³ These Friends understandably looked upon the surrender of the Confederate Army as providential.

With the end of the war, a new wave of emigration from North Carolina began. Between the fall of 1865 and the spring of 1872, sixteen thousand North and South Carolinians went west, according to Addison Coffin. Not all of these were Quakers; by Coffin's account, no more than one-tenth of them were.²⁴ Like the previous emigrations, slavery was the overarching reason. As Coffin said, "though they knew slavery was abolished yet they foresaw the race question would one day come. . . ."²⁵ Mary Hobbs explained their departure this way: "When the Yankees came, instead of bringing peace and joy, they brought 'reconstruction and Negro domination and carpet-bag rule;' and the people, already impoverished, saw no hope except in flight to less harassed territory."²⁶ She described a scene of depopulated meetings and referred to a fear that the entire membership might move west. Such were the circumstances when the Baltimore Association for the Relief of Distressed Friends became aware of the Quaker exodus from North Carolina and aroused to the importance of curtailing it. Largely through the efforts of Francis T. King, organizer of the Baltimore Association, the tide of emigration was checked. North Carolina Quakers were convinced that they had a future in their native state. They were encouraged by the abolition of slavery, for they could now employ free labor, which previously they had been unable to obtain.

According to the Yearly Meeting Minutes of 1865, Friends "appear clear of holding slaves except one . . . by heirship . . ." and two who were given board and clothing for reasons of sympathy.²⁷ During the war there had been no mention of educational efforts on behalf of Negroes like the efforts of antebellum days. In light of the impoverishment of the Quakers and the lack of schooling for their own children in wartime, it appears doubtful that Quakers had either the resources or the energy to do anything other than fight for survival. But in the postwar years the North Carolina

Friends resumed their efforts on behalf of blacks. With the help of Francis King of the Baltimore Association and Yardley Warner of the Friends Freedman's Aid Association of Philadelphia, they began to express their concern for the status and well-being of the freedman in Reconstruction. Nereus Mendenhall, Clerk of the Yearly Meeting, in a report to that body in 1865 on the state of the freedman, issued both a warning and a challenge. "While the war has ceased and the shackles of slavery have been cut asunder, the spirit of both still lives. The freedman is still subject to many difficulties and besetments, and probably to-day offers a broader field for our exertions than ever before. Let Friends then not relax their efforts in his behalf."²⁸ In a later Yearly Meeting Minute, Friends expressed a readiness "to conspire as in the days of slavery, to embrace every opportunity to promote the real welfare of this people."²⁹

However, Quakers were unable to give the freedman their undivided attention. First, federal action once again threatened violation of the Society's conscientious scruples. This time the irritant was the oath of allegiance "prescribed for all citizens of those states which have been in rebellion against the U. S. Government." Friends argued in their petitions of June, 1865, to President Johnson and Governor Holden that "our religious principles prevent us from ever placing ourselves in rebellion against the Government under which we live . . . , hence, we believe said obligation to be unnecessary."³⁰ Second, freedmen were not the only group who were in desperate educational straits. In a letter to a London Friend, a Quaker from Guilford County described the most pressing need to be "some help in the matter of education since young people have grown up during the last four years without attending school at all."³¹

Primary credit for shoring up the North Carolina Yearly Meeting and its educational system belongs to Francis T. King and the Baltimore Association, from whom various kinds of help were forthcoming. "Food, clothes, seeds, implements, even needles and pins" were sent to North Carolina Quakers.³² But most important were the Association's efforts to aid Friends in the area of

education. "Books, charts, and maps were provided; school houses repaired or new ones built; teachers paid, and parents encouraged to send their children to school."³³ Many Friends reasoned that "to educate every Friend's child in North Carolina" would be of great advantage to the freedmen of the State, "for if our Friends . . . are well educated, they will be in a position to help the colored people," a position for which most Friends felt themselves "peculiarly fit."³⁴

Mary Hobbs reported great strides in the Quaker educational system. The first normal school in North Carolina was conducted under the auspices of Friends during the summer of 1866. "Friends' schools and methods became models for others. . . . Pupils not Friends entered our Monthly Meeting Schools."³⁵ The Greensborough *Patriot* in April, 1869, praised the plan of Francis King and the Association to establish schools in North Carolina and furnish qualified teachers, judging it an admirable success with 42 schools and over 3000 pupils. "It is the only organized system of schools in the whole South."³⁶

The *Patriot* singled out for special commendation the truly revolutionary idea embodied in Swarthmore Farm. "It is a normal school for the education of farmers."³⁷ Established under Quaker auspices in the fall of 1867, the model farm in North Carolina was another innovative stroke by Francis King. In its evaluation of the venture, the newspaper noted that "the increased yield of clover on this farm has been remarkable, and the sale of seed very considerable. This seed has been bought by the surrounding farmers who have availed themselves of observations made at the model farm" to improve their own methods of farming.³⁸ Final kudos deem "it fortunate for our section of the country that the educational and agricultural reforms and improvements lately set on foot, have been done by Friends."³⁹

There was a close correlation between the condition of the school system of Friends and their efforts on behalf of the education of the freedman. In consideration of Quaker aid to freedmen, Negro education received top priority. Of primary concern was "how best to develop thought in people who have grovelled for centuries in the dust, and in whose minds care has

been taken systematically to repress every motion of thought."⁴⁰ The Yearly Meeting formed a committee whose aim was to "help freedmen to employment and education, and in general labor for the good of these people."⁴¹ The tasks of the committee included securing food and clothing, procuring books and material . . . and in several instances, organizing schools for their religious instruction. A report from the committee states that "some of us have also been called upon to make settlements, adjust difficulties, etc. for them." The committee "found many cases of privation of the comforts of life" among freedmen "but few cases of actual suffering on this account."⁴²

The movement for Negro education in North Carolina received its major impetus from Yardley Warner, the Philadelphia Friend who traveled extensively through North Carolina in the first summer after the close of the war, studying the condition of colored people. By fall of that year, he is thought to have established his first school for Negroes in Greensboro.⁴³ He superintended the building and staffing of schools for colored people, children and adults, and for teacher training courses. In a letter of October, 1866, Warner described his mission as an effort "to have at hand the means to repel the imputation against the Freedmen, that they are unfit for the liberty which is the rightful boon of every man. . . ."⁴⁴ To this aim he dedicated his life. He was instrumental in securing the appointment of Nereus Mendenhall, reputedly the foremost Friend in the South as well as a leading educator in his native North Carolina, as superintendent of the schools for colored people in North Carolina, with nine teachers under his direction.⁴⁵ The results of Warner's and Mendenhall's efforts were truly remarkable. In 1867 the *Friends' Review* reported the existence of many schools for colored people in North Carolina. "It is common to see colored children conning their lessons in preference to idle play. . . ." The article commented on the hostility shown by some of the whites toward Friends' educational efforts for the freedmen but was confident this hostility would decrease because "an increase in intelligence among the blacks engages the confidence of the white population, and wins them over to the good work."⁴⁶ The North

Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes of 1869 also reported impressive strides in the area of Negro education — 5,515 colored people in Friends' settlements and thirty-one day schools for colored children, with an enrollment of 1,446.⁴⁷

A decade later, the Yearly Meeting Minutes recorded ten schools for colored children under the sponsorship of Friends with an average school term of four and four/fifths months; nine mission meetings and tract readings for the religious training of the colored race; and the deaths of three colored Friends.⁴⁸ It would appear from the latter statement that Friends had formally accepted Negroes into membership in their society by 1879. The Yearly Meeting Minutes, the *Friend*, and the Greensborough *Patriot* had noted a request in 1869 by a group of Negroes in Salem to be incorporated with the Friend's Society.⁴⁹ The response of Guilford County Friends to this request for membership, however is not clear. The *Patriot* reported: "Certain Friends were appointed to proceed to Salem and ascertain with whom they had to deal."⁵⁰ The *Friend* said more sympathetically: "A committee was authorized to refer them to the nearest Monthly Meeting, extending, meanwhile, relief to their necessities." The Yearly Meeting Minutes were non-committal: "They are very imperfectly acquainted with the principles of Friends." A recommendation was made that the matter be referred to the committee on Education of the Freedmen.⁵¹

By 1876 the Committee on Indian Affairs had supplanted the Freedmen's Committee in visibility on the Yearly Meeting agenda. Still, the Friends labored on behalf of colored education, at least religious education, as late as 1880. It was reported at that time that "a number of members . . . have done useful work among the colored people by the distribution of Bibles and other books; helping to organize and manage Bible schools, Christian Endeavor and Temperance Societies, also in helping to organize and manage their week-day schools."⁵²

Even more revolutionary than Yardley Warner's postwar efforts in Negro education was his pioneer venture in Negro home ownership. Warner began this unique undertaking two years after the war under the sponsorship of the Association of Friends of

Philadelphia for the Relief of Colored Freedmen. In 1865–1866 he purchased a tract of land containing thirty-five and a half acres with the aim of subdividing the land and selling lots to freedmen. The first freedman to acquire a deed did so in 1868. The recorded prices of each acre lot vary from a low of twenty-five dollars to a high of four hundred. Warner helped to rescue the blacks from their homeless poverty. “Home ownership, he believed, would give anchorage to the confused Freedmen, providing them with a sense of security and encouraging them in industry and thrift.”⁵³ To Guilford County Quakers belongs the credit for Warner’s choice of Greensboro. While it is not certain how active a role local Friends assumed in the project, there is no doubt that their presence indirectly aided it. Warner correctly perceived that the generous proportion of Friends who had always practiced the doctrine of human freedom would make Greensboro an easier place to establish an unpopular philanthropy.

There seems to be no question that many local citizens “looked with distrust and disdain on the man who not only sold land to their former chattels, but lived himself among them and taught their children. . . .”⁵⁴ In a biography of Warner his son Stafford Warner wrote that he “was ostracised and regarded as outcast and pariah, by the white population during the early days of the project.” The area was later designated as Warnersville in honor of its founder.⁵⁵ Regardless of any initial hostility expressed by local townspeople, general acceptance appears to have followed rather quickly. An article in the Greensborough *Patriot* in January, 1869, had only praise for an Exhibition held on Christmas night at the Warnersville colored school. “When we consider the difficulties under which the colored children labor in their efforts to acquire an education, we must express our surprise and gratification at the results of the four months tutoring of the chilren [*sic*] of this school.”⁵⁶

The Discipline of the Society of Friends underscored this deep concern for human rights. Even though slavery had been abolished in America, the Discipline of 1876 did not remove the antislavery section — evidence that Friends remained committed to the eradication of human bondage wherever it still existed. A notation

in the Yearly Meeting Minutes of 1872 mentioned that an "Address had been delivered to the King and Cortes of Spain on the subject of the discontinuance of slavery in the Spanish Dominions."⁵⁷

Regrettably, the abolition of slavery was not to be a panacea for race relations. Instead, it spawned a new type of racial injustice prevalent in the South during the early years of Radical Reconstruction: white terror against Negroes by secret societies, notably the Ku Klux Klan. Friends themselves were sometimes targets of outrages perpetrated by the Klan. For example, in Burlington a crippled Quaker teacher was badly abused by Klan members.⁵⁸ Friends, recognizing the seriousness of the problem, inserted a section on secret societies in their Discipline revisions of 1876, advising members "against connecting themselves with any secret societies, or joining in any ostentatious procession thereof."⁵⁹ When next the Discipline was revised in 1893, North Carolina Quakers felt confident enough to remove the section on slavery but not the one on secret societies.

During Reconstruction North Carolina Friends, under the leadership of Guilford County Quakers, were as sincerely devoted to the welfare of the freedman and worked as diligently, within their means, in his behalf as they had labored in antebellum days for his manumission. Without assistance from the Baltimore Association for the Relief of Distressed Friends, the Philadelphia Association for the Relief of Freedmen and from individuals like Francis King and Yardley Warner, Quakers in North Carolina would have been hard pressed to aid the Negro race during Reconstruction. Nevertheless, the North Carolina Quakers retained their earlier prewar interest in the welfare of Negroes and continued to help them during the postwar years.

1. Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings of North Carolina Yearly Meetings, April 8, 1861, Guilford College Quaker Room Collection, Greensboro, N. C., hereinafter referred to as NCYM Minutes, Meeting for Sufferings.

2. New Garden Monthly Meeting Minutes, January 29, 1862, Guilford College Quaker Room Collection.

3. *Ibid.*, March 25, 1863.

4. NCYM Minutes, Meeting for Sufferings, June 3, 1861.

5. *Ibid.*, September 16, 1861.
6. *The Friend* (London, 1923), August 16, 1923, Guilford College Quaker Room Collection.
7. Addison Coffin, *Early Settlement of Friends in North Carolina: Traditions and Reminiscences* (Guilford College, 1894), p. 144.
8. Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Friends in North Carolina, August 18, 1862, Guilford College Quaker Room Collection, Greensboro, N. C., hereinafter referred to as NCYM Minutes.
9. *The Friend* (London, 1866), VI, 3.
10. Society of Friends, *An Account of the Sufferings of Friends of North Carolina Yearly Meeting in Support of their Testimony Against War from 1861-1865* (Baltimore, 1868), p. 8, Guilford College Quaker Room Collection, Greensboro, N. C., hereinafter referred to as NCYM *Account of Sufferings*.
11. *The Friend*, August 16, 1923, August 23, 1923, September 6, 1923.
12. NCYM *Account of Sufferings*, op. cit., p. 25.
13. *Friends Review* (Philadelphia, 1865), XVIII, p. 457.
14. *The Friend*, August 30, 1923.
15. NCYM *Account of Sufferings*, op. cit., p. 25.
16. NCYM Minutes, 1864-73, p. 6.
17. NCYM *Account of Sufferings*, op. cit., p. 25.
18. *The Friend*, September 6, 1923.
19. NCYM Minutes, Meeting for Sufferings, November 7, 1866.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
21. *Friends' Review*, XVIII, p. 794.
22. *The Friend*, September 20, 1923.
23. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 4.
24. Coffin, op. cit., p. 157.
25. *Ibid.*,
26. *The Friend*, October 4, 1923.
27. NCYM Minutes, November 7, 1865, p. 9.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
29. *Ibid.*, November 5, 1868, p. 17.
30. NCYM Minutes, Meeting for Sufferings, June 18, 1865.
31. *Friends' Review*, XIX, p. 376.
32. *The Friend*, October 4, 1923.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Friends' Review*, XIX, pp. 615-616; XX, p. 44.
35. *The Friend*, October 10, 1923.
36. *Greensborough Patriot*, April 1, 1869. Micro-film Collection, Greensboro, N. C. Public Library.
37. *Greensborough Patriot*, July 1, 1869.
38. *Ibid.*, April 1, 1869.
39. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1869.
40. *Friends' Review*, XX, p. 44.
41. NCYM Minutes, 1866, p. 9.

42. NCYM, November 7, 1867, p. 9.
43. *Greensboro Daily News*, June 1, 1941.
44. Stafford Allen Warner, *Yardley Warner: The Freedman's Friend* (Didcot: The Wessex Press, 1957), p. 67. Guilford College Quaker Room Collection.
45. Rufus Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism* (London, 1921), II, p. 603.
46. *Friends' Review*, XX, p. 44.
47. NCYM Minutes, November 12, 1869.
48. *Ibid.*, November 5, 1879.
49. *Ibid.*, November 11, 1869; *Greensborough Patriot*, November 11, 1869; *The Friend*, January 1, 1870.
50. *Greensborough Patriot*, November 11, 1869.
51. *The Friend*, January 1, 1870.
52. NCYM Minutes, November 11, 1869.
53. *Greensboro Daily News*, January 1, 1941.
54. *Ibid.*
55. Warner, op. cit., p. 64.
56. *Greensborough Patriot*, January 7, 1869.
57. NCYM Minutes, November 7, 1872.
58. Letter from H. C. Vogell, State Superintendent of Education, to Major O. O. Howard, December 14, 1869, W. W. Holden Papers, Duke University Manuscript Dept., Durham, N. C.
59. *Discipline of Friends New Garden* (Greensborough, N. C., 1880), p. 74.

North Carolina Quakers in Politics

BY

Nancy Judd Martin

QUAKER PARTICIPATION in colonial politics in North Carolina gave the religious convictions of the Quakers stern tests. Because of their own religious scruples and principles, they challenged the close relationship of church and state. Through their opposition to the established church they espoused a principle that the United States Constitution would eventually uphold, the separation of church and state. When their religious tenets were threatened, Quakers attempted to remedy the situation by entering into the political affairs of the colony. They opposed the tithes that were collected to support the established church. They fought for their right of affirming instead of giving the formal oath. The struggle to secure what they considered religious liberty also constituted a struggle to retain political freedom.

On what religious grounds did the Quakers oppose tithes and oaths? Essentially Friends refused to separate their religious life from their everyday life. On any day or in any situation a Quaker was conscientiously bound to one standard for telling the truth. Christ's words in Matthew to "swear not at all" are taken by the Quakers as an admonishment to do exactly that — to refrain completely from swearing. In the Biblical words of Christ, "Freely ye have received, freely give," is grounded the Quakers' belief that tithing is wrong.

The Quakers' legal position in North Carolina was circumscribed by the provisions for religious tolerance in the Carolina Charters of 1663 and 1665. The Fundamental Constitutions, probably written by John Locke, also provided for religious tolerance. Seven or more persons who were in accord about religion could constitute a church. A church then must meet three requirements which were (1) admit the existence of God, (2)

worship Him, and (3) have some method “whereby they witness a truth as in the presence of God.” Parliament was given the right to establish the Anglican Church which alone could receive public funds.¹

According to Addison Coffin, tradition gives the credit for the first settlement in Albemarle to a group of Quaker young men numbering between fifteen and twenty. In 1665 Henry Phillips and his wife from Rhode Island settled near them. Later these young men revisited their former homes to select wives to return to North Carolina with them. Other Quakers soon followed.²

The very first mention we have of the existence of any Friends in North Carolina is in the journal of William Edmundson, a prominent English Quaker of the day. Coming to Carolina because he “was moved of the Lord,” he found one Quaker family — the Henry Phillips family. “He and his Wife had been convinc’d of the Truth in New-England, and came there to live, who having not seen a Friend for seven Years before, they wept for Joy to see us.”³

Although it seems to be the consensus of several historians that North Carolina was a refuge of early Quakers, the evidence from Edmundson’s journal does not point to this. Instead the colony appears to be an early mission field. The descriptions he gives of those in attendance at the meetings he held obviously are not Quakers. Edmundson says this of them in 1671:

Now about the Hour appointed many People came, but they had little or no religion, for they came, and sate down in the Meeting smoking their Pipes; but in a little time, the Lord’s Testimony arose in the Authority of his Power, and their Hearts being reach’t with it, several of them were tender’d, and receiv’d the Testimony.⁴

It was in September of 1672 that George Fox himself visited the colony. He preached somewhere in the area of what he calls Bonner’s Creek where there were no Friends. He met no opposition, for he states, “the Governour with his Wife, received us lovingly.” He held a meeting there and spent the night at the governor’s house before traveling on. At the next meeting which he held about four miles away, the Governor’s Secretary was present. This man “was Chief Secretary of the Province, and had (it seems)

been formerly Convinced.”⁵

Edmundson returned in 1676 to hold “several precious meetings” and accept new converts to Quakerism. “People where tender and loving, there was no room for the Priests (i.e., hirelings), for Friends were finely settled, and I left things well amongst them.”⁶ These meetings were held in the homes of previous converts.

The early organization of the Friends in North Carolina was helpful in later years when the need to assert their rights arose. At the start of the eighteenth century the Quakers were the largest religious group in the province. The Society was the only organized religious body in North Carolina. It is Weeks’s conclusion that by 1700 North Carolina had three monthly meetings: (1) one in Pasquotank, (2) one at the house of Francis Toms, and (3) one at the house of Jonathan Phelps.⁷ The record of the beginning of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting reads:

At a quarterly meeting at the house of Henry Whites this 4 day of the 4 month 1698; it is unanimously agreed by fr’nds that all the quarterly meetings be altered from: the first seventh day of month to the last seventh day and that all the quarterly meeting be held the last seventh day of the same month they were formerly held on and the last seventh day of the 7 month in Every yere to be the yerely meeting for this Cuntree at the house of Francis Toms the Elder and the second day of the weke following to be seat aparte for business and that a meeting be held at the house of Thomas Catreke in pastotanke the first day Every month.”⁸

THE JOHN ARCHDALE ERA

“The Golden Age of Southern Quakerism” had its beginning with the governorship of John Archdale.⁹ This marked the entrance of conspicuous Quaker initiative in the political affairs of the colony. William Gorden, an Anglican missionary, wrote the following to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:

From the first settlement I find for some years they were few in number and had little or no interest in the government until John Archdale, Proprietor and Quaker, went over, by whose means some were made Councillors.¹⁰

John Archdale was born in England in 1642 of a family whose lineage has been traced to 1520. At the age of twenty-two, Archdale became an agent for the governor of Maine, Ferdinando Gorges. This seems to be his first link with the New World. Not yet a Quaker, he accepted a commission as a colonel in the Maine militia in 1665. Probably he returned to his home in England the next year.¹¹ The exact date of Archdale's conversion to Quakerism is not known, but the preaching of George Fox he relates, "convinced me in the beginning."¹²

The first mention of Archdale in the *Colonial Records* as a Proprietor is in 1683. In 1681 John Archdale bought the interest of Sir John Berkeley in the name of his minor son, Thomas.¹³ Letters from the Proprietors to Sothel and Ludwell in 1689 and 1691 show that Archdale signed "John Archdale for Tho. Archdale." A letter from Edward Randolph to custom commissioners in England in 1693 mentions that Archdale had been appointed governor "during his son's Minority who is one of the Lord Proprietors."¹⁴

In 1685 and 1686 Archdale temporarily served as governor of North Carolina while Governor Seth Sothel was out of the colony. Through a letter written by Archdale to George Fox something of his short administration is learned. The Colony was at "peace with all the nations of the Indians" although there were a couple of instances that required Archdale's consideration.¹⁵ A Tuscarora Indian had been murdered and the chief had come to Archdale with the report that an Englishman had committed the crime. However, Archdale found the culprit to be a Chowan Indian whose life was spared for "a great quantity of wamp and bage. . . . This Tuscarora king was very desirous to cut off a nation of Indians called the Matchepungoes," which Archdale checked.¹⁶ Archdale was staying in North Carolina longer than he intended, because "the people are very fearful of falling into some trouble again," if he

left before Sothel returned to the colony.¹⁷ In 1686, he returned to England.

Eight years later Archdale was appointed Governor of Carolina to take the place of Thomas Smith who advised the Proprietors that only a Proprietor could ease the unrest that abounded in the colony.¹⁸ On August 31, 1694, the Proprietors appointed Archdale "during our pleasure Governor of our whole province of Carolina." He was also to serve as "Admirall Capt General and Comander in chief of all ye forces raised or to be raised both by sea and Land within our s^d province."¹⁹ November 24, 1694, he received a patent as a Landgrave of Carolina with a salary of £200 a year.²⁰

He received vast powers in order to quench the smoldering embers of discontent that existed in the colony. To promote settlement of "those parts w^{ch} lye north of Cape Fear," he was "to let any . . . land at such moderate quitte rents" as he thought to be fair.²¹ He could sell land in Albemarle and also escheat land. His instructions gave him the power to set up new counties and give them names. Appointments for deputy governors of North and South Carolina plus "all and singular officers in and for the Governm^t" were in his hands. With the consent of the Council and Assembly he could "alter any former Laws that shall be thought fitt to be changed and to enact all such reasonable laws and Statutes."²²

Archdale arrived in Albemarle in June of 1695. Here he bought a thousand and six acres of land in the precinct of Pasquotank. This land he put in the name of his son-in-law Emanuel Lowe.²³ After spending only six weeks in North Carolina, Archdale went on to South Carolina leaving Thomas Harvey as deputy governor. Archdale took the affirmation of office.²⁴ Mr. Gorden wrote to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that he did this without removing his hat.²⁵

He managed to avoid the religious arguments that had kept the colony in such a turmoil. Concerning this, Archdale wrote the following:

Although my power was very large, yet I did not wholly exclude the High-Church party out of the essential part of the government, but mixed two

moderate church-men to one High Church man in the Council whereby the Balance of Government was preserved peaceable and quiet in my time.²⁶

True to the tradition of Quakers, Archdale followed a peaceful policy in regard to the Indians. He made provision to handle any Indian problem that might occur by setting up a board of Indian Affairs to settle disputes between the white men and the red. No serious conflicts arose. He granted land to the Chowan Indians in North Carolina.²⁷ One of his first decrees concerned selling liquor to the Indians:

It is enacted that every person which shall give, or in any other way dispose of any rum or brandy, or any sorte of spirrits to any Indian or Indians . . . shall forfeit for every time he shall dispose of any such liquors as aforesaid the summe of twenty pounds.²⁸

During his term of office quit rents were remitted for three or four years. He allowed payment for land to be made in produce. New roads were built. He secured an exemption from bearing arms for those who could not because of religious scruples.

Edward Randolph in letters to the custom commissioners in England charges that Archdale favored the pirates:

Mr. John Archdalle the late Gov^r . . . permitted some of Every's Men, who came from Providence to Land, and bring their money quietly a shoar, for which favor he was well paid by them.²⁹

Mr. John Archdale a Quaker . . . is a favourer of the illegal Trade, having given his permit to the Master of a Forreigne Vessell to trade.³⁰

Archdale left South Carolina in the winter of 1696 and revisited North Carolina before returning to England. He again endorsed Thomas Harvey as deputy governor. He was extolled in John Porter's address to the North Carolina Assembly as one "whose greatest care it is to make peace and plenty flow amongst us."³¹

THE CARY REBELLION

Although provisions had been made in the Carolina charters and the Fundamental Constitutions for the establishment of the Church of England, no direct action had been made to put them into force. Until 1700 there was not even an Anglican minister in the colony. Governor Henderson Walker had this to say about the first minister, Daniel Brett:

It hath been a geat trouble and grief to us who have a great veneration for the Church, that the first minister who was sent to us should prove so ill as to give the dissenters so much occasion to charge us with him.³²

In 1701 William III granted a charter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts which had as its primary object the maintenance of Anglican clergy in the colonies.³³ John Blair, its first missionary to North Carolina, reached the colony in 1704. He classified the populace into four groups. Two of these were Quakers, "the most powerful enemies to church government" and "a great many who have no religion, but would be Quakers, if by that they were not obliged to lead a more moral life than they are willing to comply to."³⁴

It was also in 1701 that an act was passed by the Asembly that provided for the division of the colony into parishes and for a salary for Anglican ministers. The Quakers rallied themselves and elected enough Assemblymen of their own number to repeal the bill.³⁵ Governor Walker wrote to the Bishop of London:

My lord, I humbly beg leave to inform you, that we have an Assembly to sit the 3^d November next, and there is above one half of the burgesses that are chosen are Quakers, and have declared their designs of making void the act for establishing the Church.³⁶

This became unnecessary when the Proprietors to whom the bill had been sent for approval vetoed it. The only reason that they did not approve it was that in their opinion the minister was not allowed a large enough salary.

By 1704 the Churchmen were in sufficient control to pass a Vestry Act that apparently disfranchised all dissenters. No copies of

this act now exist. To multiply the troubles, Parliament passed an act requiring an oath of allegiance to the new queen, Anne. When the Quakers refused to take this oath they were denied the right of holding public office. Edmund Porter was sent to England to present the grievances of the Quakers. With the help of John Archdale, Daniel, who had become deputy governor after Walker's death and who insisted that the Quakers must take the oath, was removed from office. Thomas Cary was appointed in his stead. However, Cary proved equally unsatisfactory. He also tried to administer the oath of allegiance, and the Quakers failing to take it were turned out of office. Cary also managed to get a law enacted that imposed fines on any who promoted his own election or took any public office without taking the prescribed oath.

This time the Quakers sent John Porter to England to present their complaints to the Proprietors. The trip proved a success for Cary was dismissed from office as were the old deputies. Porter brought back new deputy appointments. These new deputies as members of the Council were allowed to select one of their members as President of the Council. This person would also serve in the capacity of governor of North Carolina.³⁸ Weeks says that Porter's arrival in North Carolina marked the beginning of the Cary Rebellion which he divides into two parts. The first part is one of political action while the second is concerned with physical force. The Quakers were active in the first part, but remained true to their peace testimony and did not take part in the second phase.³⁹

Upon Porter's return to North Carolina, he found the affairs of the colony in the hands of William Glover, a Churchman and a member of the Council. Colonel Cary was in South Carolina. Porter summoned the newly appointed deputies who selected Glover as President of the Council. A majority of the new deputies were Quakers, and they considered the oath issue settled since the Proprietors had suspended the previous governor and deputies. To their disappointment Glover also tried to enforce the oath. Forced by this turn of events, Porter called together the old and the new deputies who re-elected Cary. Thus two governments existed, each claiming to be the legal one. Weeks says that Cary's second

election was illegal in that he had been chosen by suspended old deputies and unsworn new ones. Glover also had been put into office by unsworn deputies. Therefore Cary was Governor "de jure."⁴⁰

The two rival governments persisted until 1708 when both sides agreed to submit the dispute to an Assembly. North Carolina was composed of two counties at this time. There were Albemarle with the four precincts of Pasquotank, Perquimans, Currituck, and Chowan, and Bath County with the three precincts of Pampticough, Wickham, and Archdale. Each of the four Albemarle precincts had five delegates, while each of the Bath precincts had three delegates. A majority of the delegates stood with Cary. Glover controlled only the Currituck delegates.⁴¹ Chowan had a contested election.⁴² Pasquotank and Perquimans were Quaker spheres of influence.⁴³

In 1710 Edward Hyde arrived in North Carolina. A commission as deputy governor was to have been given him by Edward Tynte, the governor of Carolina, but he had died without doing this. Hyde was at first accepted as President of the Council without opposition.⁴⁴ However, this was to change. Mr. Urmstone wrote the following:

He persists in Mr. Glover's opinion of not suffering the Quakers who had deputations either forged or granted by those not proprietors to be of the Council or have anything to do in the administration.⁴⁵

The Assembly dealt harshly with Cary and his followers. Both Cary and Porter were impeached and put under custody. They escaped and Hyde made an unsuccessful attempt to retake them. Cary gathered his forces. Efforts at mediation by Governor Spotswood of Virginia failed. An attempt to capture Hyde was made to no avail by the Cary side. Cary's men were successfully dispersed in 1711 followed by the capture of Cary and Porter in Virginia. Charged with rebellion, they were sent to England where they were later released.⁴⁷

Although accused of aiding Cary, very few Quakers were involved in the armed rebellion. Governor Hyde alleged that the Quakers were active "many have tooke up arms themselves."⁴⁸ Mr.

Urmstone, himself of infamous character, said "several Quakers have arms and more are ready to do so, and if that will not do, they threaten to bring in the Indians upon us."⁴⁹ He also wrote this concerning Quaker participation in the rebellion:

There were several Quakers that bore arms in a late attempt upon Col. Hide which was carried on with great cunning malice and rage but the aggressors were happily repulsed and what furthur wickedness they are contriving time will show.⁵⁰

Emmanuel Lowe played a part in the rebellion for which he was called to account by the Quakers.⁵¹ He had furnished Cary with a brigantine.⁵² He was taken prisoner when the armed brig fell into the hands of Hyde's men.⁵³ Because of his actions Lowe lost his position on the executive committee of the Yearly Meeting.⁵⁴

It is Weeks's opinion that since a man of Lowe's prominence was tried, there would have been other trials of any other Quaker involved. The absence of such trials indicates little Quaker activity in the violence.

THE WAR OF THE REGULATION

The citizenry of the back country of North Carolina were plagued with abuses in their local government. Lawyers and government officials were guilty of charging exorbitant rates for their services. Excess taxes were imposed and collected. Colonel Edmund Fanning, a lawyer, member of the Assembly, and Hillsboro clerk of court, was a prime example of the existing corruption at the local level. The legal fee for recording a deed was one dollar, so seven of the eight dollars Fanning charged went into his own pocket.⁵⁵ One of the foremost Regulators, Rednap Howell, is credited with the following lines:

When Fanning first to Orange came
He looked both pale and wan.
An old patched coat upon his back,
An old blind mare he rode on

Both man and mare wa'n't worth five pounds
As I've been often told,
But by his thieving robberies
He's lined his coat with gold.⁵⁶

Failure to obtain redress for the grievances resulted in formation of a group in 1768 who were determined to "bring things to a true and proper relation."⁵⁷ These champions of justice were thus styled Regulators.

In the Sandy Creek area, now in Randolph County, another group had been organized to achieve the same ends by legal means. They called themselves Associators and their organization the Sandy Creek Association. This is not the same as the Sandy Creek Baptist Association. The Regulators began to extend their operations into Sandy Creek. The more moderate Associators had some misgivings about the Regulators whom they thought to be "too rash and unlawful." However, they did meet with the Regulators to elect representatives to present their case.⁵⁸ Finding no further distinction made between the two groups, I conclude that they merged into one group.

Hermon Husband of Sandy Creek is generally credited with the leadership of the Regulator Movement. His association with the Cane Creek Meeting prior to this time has no doubt been the main reason for the belief that the Quakers were active participants in the Regulation.

Husband was not a birthright Quaker. He was born in 1724 in Cecil County, Maryland to a family belonging to the Anglican Church. Dissatisfied, young Hermon first changed to the Presbyterian Church before following his brother Joseph into the Quaker fold.⁵⁹

Husband first came to North Carolina in 1751, but later returned to Maryland. In 1755 he was received into the Cane Creek Meeting by certificate. On June 16, 1762 he married Mary Pugh, a member of Cane Creek Meeting.⁶⁰ This was his second wife; the name of his first wife is not known. Between the years 1755 and 1765, Husband acquired about 7000 acres of land around Sandy

Creek, in the Deep River valley, and in Rowan and Cumberland Counties.⁶¹

It was on January 7, 1764, that Husband was disowned by the Cane Creek Meeting.⁶² The controversy that led to his removal began when Rachel Wright asked Cane Creek Meeting for a certificate to a South Carolina Meeting. Previously, she had engaged in some disorder but had given a paper to the Meeting condemning her actions. This self-condemnation was accepted at the time. But when she asked for a removal certificate, her request was denied because some of the Friends did not feel she had been in earnest. An appeal to the Quarterly Meeting recommended the granting of the certificate to Rachel Wright.⁶³ Husband became involved in the argument and "being guilty of Making remarks on the actions and transactions" of Cane Creek Meeting and "publicly advertising the Same" was disowned.⁶⁴

This created more controversy for there were those who took Husband's side and signed a paper to this effect. Faced with the prospect of their own removal, they appealed to the Yearly Meeting which reversed the decision of the Quarterly Meeting relative to Rachel Wright and reinstated to active membership those who had signed for Husband. However, Husband remained outside the Meeting.⁶⁵

Coffin reports that Husband, upon hearing the minute of his disownment read, stood, walked to the door where he slipped off his shoes, stepped back into the room, and clapped them together three times. He then sat down, put his shoes on, and left the meeting house. This was taken as a sign that he was shaking the dust of the Meeting from his feet.⁶⁶

In 1766, Amy Allen was dismissed from Cane Creek Meeting for marrying out of the Meeting. She became the third wife of Hermon Husband.⁶⁷

It is Lazenby's opinion that Husband was actually not a Regulator but an Associator, believing in moderation and pacifism. Although deserted by the Quakers, he did not desert Quaker principles.⁶⁸

A few minor acts of violence and rumors of an intended march

on Hillsboro by the Regulators stirred Edmund Fanning, colonel of the militia, to action. May 1, 1768, Fanning and some of his men rode forty miles to arrest Hermon Husband. This he did without a warrant. After the arrest he secured a warrant charging Husband with conspiring to instigate an insurrection.⁶⁹

The angered Regulators streamed to Hillsboro to forcefully release Husband. Alarmed by this display of power, Fanning released Husband on bail. Husband made plans to leave North Carolina but was persuaded by John Wilcox to remain and take his chances in court.⁷⁰ Eventually all of the Regulators but Husband were pardoned. Earl Hillsborough wrote to Governor Tryon:

I have it in command from the King to acquaint you that, relying upon your Zeal and Discretion, His Majesty is graciously pleased to comply with your desire of making the Proclamation of Pardon General, except with regard to Hermon Husbonds, and of extending it to fines in all such cases as you shall judge to be expedient and advisable for the complete restoration and better preservation of the Peace of the Province.⁷¹

Husband was tried in March, 1769, and he was acquitted.⁷²

In July of 1769, a new election to the Assembly was held. John Pryor and Hermon Husband were duly elected to represent Orange County in the place of Edmund Fanning and Lloyd Thomas. This Assembly was dissolved by Tryon in November for its resolutions that only taxes imposed by the Assembly were legal and that trials of colonials could be held only in the colony.⁷³

The Regulators forcefully broke up the Superior Court in Hillsboro in September, 1770 and held it three days. John Williams, a lawyer, was attacked but managed to escape and find refuge in a nearby store. Colonel Fanning escaped after being physically attacked by the Regulators. Lazenby says that is doubtful that Husband was present and a party to this violence as claimed. His name was given in court records as being present the first day. Only one witness reports seeing him. Ralph McNair reports that Hermon Husband and others "amongst a number of men called regulators who were chiefly armed with wooden cudgels or cow skin whips wherewith they assaulted and beat John William Esq^{re}."⁷⁴

A new Assembly was convened in December of 1770 with Husband representing Orange County. Fanning was also seated for the newly created borough of Hillsboro.⁷⁵ Husband was expelled from the Assembly on December 18, 1771, for the alleged publishing of a letter that slandered Maurice Moore, another Assembly member. The entire House composed the committee that drafted the following:

1st Resolved that it appears to this Committee that Herman Husband a member of the Committee is one of the people who denominate themselves Regulators and that he hath been a principal mover and promoter of the late Riots and seditions in the County of Orange and other parts of this Province.

2nd Resolved, That it appears to this Committee that a letter published in the North Carolina Gazette on the 14th of December directed to the Honorable Maurice Moore Esquire at New Berne and signed by James Hunter is a false Malicious and seditious Libel.

3rdly Resolved That it appears to the Committee that the above named Herman Husband was the Publisher of the said Libel.

4thly Resolved That it appears to this Committee, that the said Herman Husband, was guilty of gross prevarication and falsehood on his examination before the Committee of Propositions and Grievances, relative to the said Libel.

5thly Resolved that it appears to this Committee, that the said Herman Husband, hath insinuated in conversation that in case he should be confirmed by order of the House he expected down a number of People to release him.

6thly Resolved That in the opinion of this Committee that such an insinuation is a daring insult offered to this House and tending to intimidate the Members from a due discharge of their duty.

Resolved that the conduct of the said Herman Husband both as a Member of this House in particular and of community in General has justly incurred the contempt of this House, and rendered him unworthy of a

seat in this Assembly, ^

Resolved that the said Herman Husband immediately be expelled this House.⁷⁶

Husband was then arrested for libel and placed in prison where he stayed for over a month. In February, 1771, "The Chief Justice not seeing cause to bind Husband over to his good behavior, he discharged him from his confinement."⁷⁷ Husband left the province and was not present at the Battle of Alamance in May, 1776, which terminated the Regulation.

His Excellency the Governor, after the Battle marched into the Plantations of Husband, Hunter, and several others of the outlawed. Chiefs of the Regulators, and laid them waste. . . . A reward of 1000 Acres of Land, and 100 Dollars, is offered by his Excellency for Husband.⁷⁸

Governor Tryon put the blame for the Regulation on the Quakers and the Baptists who he said were trying to destroy the power of the Anglican Church.⁷⁹ Belief that the Quakers were influential probably stems from the fact already mentioned, that Hermon Husband had been a Quaker.

As a group the Quakers adhered to their peace testimonies in regard to the Regulation. Weeks gives the following as the only instances of Quaker participation:

Cane Creek Meeting was in the center of the disturbance. The first mention we find of the troubles is in 1766, when seven members were disowned for attending a "disorderly meeting," probably one of the mass-meetings with which the country was then alive. In 1768 two Quakers were complained of for joining a body of persons to withdraw from the paying of taxes. They were disowned. In 1769 Hermon Cox was disowned for joining the Regulators. In 1771 denials were published against Benjamin and James Underwood, Joshua Dixon, Isaac Cox, Samuel Cox and his two sons, Hermon and Samuel, James Matthews, John and Benjamin Hinshaw, William Graves, Nathan Farmer, Jesse Pugh, William Tanzy, John and William Williams, who all seem to have been Regulators. Thomas Pugh was also disowned for joining and Humphrey Williams for aiding them. Three men were disowned by New Garden Monthly Meeting for joining, and a fourth condemned himself in meeting for

“aiding with a gun.”⁸⁰

The Epistle of Advice and Council sent out by the North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1775 gave “Testimony against all Plotting, Conspiracies and Insurrections against the King and Government whatsoever as works of Darkness.” This point of view was taken because the Quakers believed “that the Setting up and Putting down Kings and Government is God’s Peculiar Prerogative for Causes best Known to him self.” Therefore, for them to attempt to overthrow a government would make them “Bussie Bodies in matters above our station.”⁸¹

There were those North Carolina Quakers; however, who being active participants in the war, lost their membership in the Society of Friends. Symon’s Creek Monthly Meeting reports that in August, 1775, there was “a complaint brought against Joseph White for enlisting in order to bear Arms,” for which the Meeting thought “proper to disown him.”⁸² Benjamin Wood was disowned in July of 1776, for although he “had an Education amongst Friends . . . inlisted himself as a Soldier.” In July of the next year William Boswell is complained of for enlisting. The minutes state in June 1780, that Thomas Newby and Caleb Hall “hath hired themselves in the Military service.”⁸³

In the records of the Wells-Perquimans Monthly Meeting there are complaints in 1775 against William Barber “for taking up arms in Military order,” in 1776 against Joseph Griffin “afor bearing arms and Listing as a Soldier,” and in 1781 against Ephraim Griffin “for bearing Arms in a Warlike manner.”⁸⁴ Nathan Pierce was accused in May, 1779, of “attending a Muster . . . for Men to Act in The Military Service.”⁸⁵ In September, 1777, the complaint against William Townsene was that he had been “a partner in hireing a Man to Serve in Military Capacity to save himself from the Penalty of the Law.”⁸⁶ Frederick Nixon in January, 1779, was charged with “Gameing and hiring a man to Serve in a Military Service.”⁸⁷

Cane Creek Monthly Meeting reports in 1777 that William Dunn was “guilty of appearing in a warlike manner” and disowned.”⁸⁸ Two brothers, Joshua and Simon Hadly, were com-

plained of because they had "Jorned in the present comotion so far as to appear in a warlike manner." So, in May, 1779, the Meeting "minutes them no members of our society."⁸⁹

New Garden Monthly also had complaints against some of its members "for taking up Arms and appearing in a warlike manner" — David Clark, Micajah Wright, and John Brown in 1776. In September, 1779 Johnathan Clark was guilty of "attending Musters to screen himself from a fine, and also for hiring a man to go into the Wars." Friends complained in 1780 against John Rudduck "for giving of his property to hire a man to go to war, and taking his gun, and giving it up when demanded and for assisting to drive away his neighbors cattle for the use of the Army."⁹⁰

In 1777 the General Assembly passed a law requiring an oath of allegiance to the state of North Carolina. Quakers were allowed the affirmation. If this was not complied with, the offender was to leave the state.⁹¹ A letter to the General Assembly from the North Carolina Yearly Meeting explains why the Quakers cannot take the oath:

As we have always declared that we believe it be Unlawful for us, to be Active in War, and Fighting with Carnal Weapons, and as we conceive that the proposed affirmation approves of the present Measures, which are carried on and Supported by Military force, we cannot engage or join with either party therein . . . We hope that you will consider our principles a much stronger security to any state than any Test that can be Required of us; as we now are and shall be innocent and Peaceable in our Several Stations and Conditions Under this present state.⁹²

In 1779 the North Carolina Yearly Meeting wrote to the General Assembly thanking them for changing the word allegiance to fidelity to make it easier for Quakers. But considering it the same in substance, they expressed the desire that the General Assembly would "not consider us as Enimies to our Country" for still refusing the oath.⁹³

They appealed to the General Assembly in 1780 because their refusal to take the oath deprived them "of the Benifit of the Laws, & the Preservation of our Properties." They felt that they had "conformed to the laws either by active or passive obedience."⁹⁴

The Monthly Meetings were advised in 1779 that the members could not “consistently take any Test while things remain Unsettled and still to be determined by Military force.”⁹⁵ The Wells-Perquimans Monthly Meeting minutes report that “Ralph Fitcher & Jacob Cannon having some time past Taken the Test to the State of North Carolina have now Voluntarily condemned the same to the satisfaction of Friends.”⁹⁶

The North Carolina Yearly Meeting decided in 1783 concerning the Test Oath “that friends are at Liberty Either to take or Refuse the said Test according to the Clear freedom of their own minds.”⁹⁷

A committee at the Cane Creek Quarterly Meeting advised in 1778 “that Early Care be taken to advise their members against accepting any place of office or trust under the present Commotion and Confusion that now abound.” Cane Creek disowned Thomas Chapman, March 1779 “for taking a Justices Comission.” Chapman admitted that he had “administered the oath wrote tickets Relating to drafting as it is Called, Signed or granted a warrant or press to take guns for a millitary purpose.”⁹⁸

The Militia Act of the General Assembly provided:

That where any Person Shall produce a proper authenticated Certificate from the yearly or quarterly Meeting of the Society of People called Quakers . . . every such Person shall be subject to a Fine of Twenty Five Pounds, to be levied on his Goods and Chattels, Lands and Tenements, or of the Goods and Chattles, Lands or Tenements, or any such Society, which may belong to them, in Lieu of their personal Service on any Alarm or Expedition, such Fine to be paid into the Public Treasury, and applied to defray the Expences of the War.⁹⁹

The North Carolina Yearly Meeting felt that Friends should support their principles “by an Honest Refusal to Act or willingly complying with any Requisitions or Demands made by men in Supporting or carrying on wars, or the shedding of blood.”¹⁰⁰ A Cane Creek Quarterly Meeting committee reported that to pay the taxes would not be consistent with their religious principles.¹⁹¹

The Quakers kept an account of their sufferings. The North

Carolina Yearly Meeting recorded in 1779 that the "Amount of Friends Sufferings brought in This Year being principally on account of Military fines or Taxes, is Two thousand one Hundred and fifty pounds, five shillings, and tenpense."¹⁰²

It might be said that it was for principles that the Quakers became involved in politics and because of principles that they later withdrew from politics. The first two decades of North Carolina history was a period of active Quaker participation in the politics of the colony. With the end of the Cary Rebellion came a sharp decline in Quaker political activity, and a trend towards isolation set in that led eventually to the nineteenth century period of Quietism.

The major factor that began the trend towards abstention was the required oath of allegiance for holders of public office. The Quakers had exerted a political force in the opening years of the eighteenth century in opposition to this law as well as to others setting up a church state, but they had finally succumbed to stronger and more aggressive forces.

Although sometimes charged with militant actions, the Quakers as a group consistently and uncompromisingly followed their peace testimony. Individual members who strayed were labored with and given a chance to condemn their actions. If they could not be persuaded, they were disowned by the meeting.

Strict adherence to the peace testimonies was in large part responsible for Quakers turning away from politics. Any involvement might lead to the sanction of actions that the Quaker's conscience could not condone. For a Quaker to hold an office during the Revolution would imply that he was in favor of war. Therefore, in order not to compromise themselves, the Quakers drifted away from public life.

1. "Fundamental Constitutions," Article 26, 1689, *North Carolina Charters and Constitutions 1578-1698*, p. 238.

2. This story does not have any evidence to support it other than tradition. Henry Phillips and his wife told William Edmundson in 1672 that they had seen no other Friend in seven years. This in itself is not conclusive proof that they settled in North Carolina in 1665. (Addison Coffin, "Early Settlement of Friends in North Carolina: Traditions and Reminiscences." 1894 (Typed for the N. C. Historical

Society, 1952), pp. 1-2.

3. William Edmundson's *Journal* (London: Printed by J. Sowle, 1715), p. 59.

4. *Ibid.*

5. George Fox's *Journal*, (London: Printed by J. Sowle, 1709), p. 203.

6. Edmundson's *Journal*, p. 102.

7. Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1892), pp. 47, 70.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

10. William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: P. M. Hale, Printer to the State, 1886), I, p. 708.

11. Weeks, pp. 53-54.

12. James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America* (London: Charles Gilpin, 1850), I, p. 415.

13. Weeks, p. 57.

14. *Colonial Records*, I, pp. 360-361, 381, 467.

15. Bowden, I, p. 415.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. Samuel A'Court Ashe, *History of North Carolina* (Greensboro, N. C.: Charles L. Van Noppen, 1908), I, p. 146.

19. *Colonial Records*, I, p. 389.

20. Weeks, p. 52.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 391.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 390.

23. *Colonial Records*, II, p. 242.

24. Rufus M. Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies* (2d ed.; London: Macmillan and Co., 1923), pp. 344-345.

25. *Colonial Records*, I, p. 711.

26. Jones, p. 345.

27. *Colonial Records*, II, p. 140.

28. Jones, p. 347.

29. *Colonial Records*, I, p. 545.

30. *Ibid.*, I, p. 467.

31. Weeks, p. 60.

32. *Colonial Records*, I, p. 572.

33. David D. Oliver, "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the Province of North Carolina," *The James Sprunt Historical Publications*. Vol. IX, No. 1. Edited by J. G. DeRoulhac Hamilton (Raleigh: Commercial Printing Co., 1910), pp. 15-16.

34. *Colonial Records*, I, pp. 601-602.

35. Weeks, p. 160.

36. *Colonial Records*, p. 572.

37. Weeks, p. 161.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165.
41. *Colonial Records*, I, p. xxvii.
42. Ashe, p. 166.
43. *Colonial Records*, I, p. xxviii.
44. Ashe, p. 171.
45. *Colonial Records*, I, p. 768.
47. Ashe, pp. 173-178.
48. *Colonial Records*, I, p. 802.
49. *Ibid.*, I, p. 774.
50. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 767-768.
51. Weeks, p. 166.
52. Ashe, p. 176.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
54. Weeks, p. 167.
55. E. W. Caruthers, *The Old North State in 1776* (Philadelphia: Hayes & Zell, 1854), I, pp. 20-21.
56. William Edward Fitch, *Some Neglected History of North Carolina* (2d ed; New York: By the author, 1914), p. 181.
57. Caruthers, p. 17.
58. Mary Elinor Lazenby, *Herman Husband: A Story of His Life* (Washington, D.C.: Old Neighborhoods Press, 1940), pp. 47, 51.
59. Weeks, p. 179.
60. "Cane Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes," Vol. I, 1751-1796, pp. 15, 18.
61. Lazenby, pp. 18, 25.
62. "Cane Creek Meeting Minutes," Vol. I, p. 30.
63. Lazenby, p. 27.
64. "Cane Creek Meeting Minutes," *loc. cit.*
65. Weeks, pp. 180-181.
66. Coffin, p. 27.
67. Lazenby, p. 27.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
71. *Colonial Records*, VIII, p. 17.
72. Lazenby, p. 68.
73. Ashe, pp. 351-52.
74. *Colonial Records*, VIII, p. 245.
75. Lazenby, p. 87.
76. *Colonial Records*, VIII, pp. 268-269.
77. *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 546.
78. *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 655.
79. *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 615.
80. Weeks, pp. 182-183.
81. "North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes," Vol. I, 1704-1793, pp. 141-142.

82. "Symon's Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes," Vol. I, 1699-1785, pp. 837-838.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 848.
84. "Wells-Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes," Vol. III, 1774-1779, pp. 10, 25, 91.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
88. "Cane Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes," Vol. I, 1751-1796, p. 66.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
90. "New Garden Monthly Meeting Minutes," Vol. II, 1775-1782, pp. 7, 15, 16, 66, 81-82.
91. Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Goldsboro: Nash Brothers, 1905), XXIV, p. 86.
92. "N. C. Yearly Meeting Minutes," Vol. I, 1777, p. 158.
93. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 1779, p. 176.
94. *Ibid.*, 1780, 185.
95. *Ibid.*, 1779, p. 185.
96. "Wells-Perquimans M. M. Minutes," Vol. III, p. 89.
97. "N. C. Yearly Meeting Minutes," Vol. I, p. 210.
98. "Cane Creek M. M. Minutes," Vol. I, 1778, pp. 71, 78.
99. *The State Records*, Vol. XXIV, p. 117.
100. "N. C. Yearly Meeting Minutes," Vol. I, 1780, p. 188.
101. "Cane Creek Quarterly Meeting Minutes," Vol. I, 1788, p. 138.
102. "N. C. Yearly Meeting Minutes," Vol. I, 1779, p. 173.

Recent Books

Worrall, Arthur J. *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1980.

IN 1911 RUFUS JONES published his *Quakers in the American Colonies*. Since then there have been numerous historical revisions of his work on Pennsylvania and New Jersey, one major work on Quakers in Maryland, and a book on the colonial Quaker family. For two regions, however, colonial and early nineteenth century Quakerism had not been comprehensively restudied. The South suffered the greatest deprivation, for even Rufus Jones's book added virtually nothing to Stephen B. Weeks's *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, published in 1896. More surprising had been the absence of a newer study of the region where Quakers first settled in America: New England and New York. Arthur Worrall's *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast* has now remedied that deficiency.

Worrall's approach is topical as well as chronological, and the topics chosen reflect the sixty-nine years of change in historical method since Rufus Jones's work appeared. The Friends' role in the struggles of colonial politics is frankly and not always flatteringly assayed. The growing gap in wealth and outlook between city and country Friends is shown as a major cause of later divisions. The self-destructive tendency of Quakers in the later colonial period to disown, especially for marrying out of meeting, is fully treated. Perhaps the most interesting and certainly highly useful section deals with the Friends' testimonies that developed during the colonial period: politics and oaths, church taxes, the peace testimony, and philanthropy.

One example may serve to illustrate the difference in Worrall's and Jones's approaches. Rufus Jones, in describing the debate between Roger Williams and the Friends in Newport and Providence in 1672, gives a chronology of the events, the list of the propositions debated, and a personal lament over the bitterness of seventeenth-century theological dispute. Arthur Worrall, on the other hand, sees the debate not as a hollow theoretical joust occasioned by the aging Williams' religious zeal, but rather as Williams' attempt to discredit the Friends politically, and thereby to regain control of the colony from them in the upcoming

election. He notes that the arguments Williams employed were repetitions of those used earlier, and for similar purpose, by anti-Quaker Massachusetts Puritans (who had also expelled Williams himself). Worrall also describes the Newport "debate," in which a sick, hoarse Williams was forced to try to shout to be heard over the loud heckling of the Friends. In short, Arthur Worrall's concern is to present an unbiased history that fully takes into account the social, political, and economic, without neglecting the philosophical and religious. In this context it is a pity that he was unable to delve more deeply into the socio-economic distribution of early Northeastern Quakers, rather than merely to cite previous studies (mostly of English Friends). He does frankly acknowledge that such studies remain to be done, and therefore qualifies his conclusions by this limitation.

The book contains several interesting statistical appendixes, a helpful map, a detailed bibliographical essay, a very useful glossary of Quaker terms, and a fairly compact index. Whoever sets out to do for Southern Friends what Arthur Worrall has tried to do for colonial Northeastern Quakers will have a high standard to which to aspire.

Damon D. Hickey
Guilford College

Bacon, Margaret Hope. *Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott*. New York: Walker and Co., 1980. \$14.95.

MARGARET HOPE BACON, author of several works of Quaker biography, presents a fresh look at the great nineteenth century Quaker advocate of equal rights for all, Lucretia Mott. Best known as an abolitionist and feminist, she stands revealed in this work as one who was committed to family life and to the life of the spirit as much as she was to public life. Living in daily obedience to spiritual guidance, she was led to undertake the many reforms for which she is remembered as well as some for which she is not so well known. In addition to her leadership in work for equal rights for women and the abolition of slavery, she worked for justice for Indians, prison-reform and nonviolent approaches to the resolution of conflict. Through her ministry she sought to free the Society of Friends from traditions she feared would kill the spirit from which it had sprung.

Readers will appreciate the easy style and illuminating interpretations of Margaret Bacon's work. Students and scholars will find helpful the

extensive notes, a list of Lucretia Mott's principal speeches and sermons and where they may be seen in print or manuscript, a list of family members with relationships noted, a bibliography of sources used, and an index.

Carole Treadway
Guilford College

Noll, Mark A. *Christians in the American Revolution*. Washington: Christian University Press, 1977. \$4.95.

THERE HAVE BEEN TWO scholarly approaches to the relationship of religion to the American Revolution. The first, by Arthur Lyon Cross, Alice M. Baldwin, and Carl Bridenbaugh, was a frontal assault on the problems of church-state relations and the spiritual duty to obey constituted authority versus the call of God to resist tyranny. The second occurred fortuitously as historians of politics, culture, and society looked closely at Revolutionary concepts of human nature, at the fracturing of Revolutionary society along denominational, ethnic, and sectarian lines, and at the loosening of older constraints and the emergence in the new republic of a culture of virtue and self-expression. The first of these approaches made fundamental contributions to our knowledge of the external history of religion in American politics; the second has produced a bewildering plethora of insights and suggestions about the inner-relationships of belief, behavior, and collective and individual self-consciousness.

Mark A. Noll's *Christians in the American Revolution* does students of the American Revolution the immense service of synthesizing, organizing and appraising both of these bodies of scholarship. Organized around four central concepts — patriotism, reform, loyalism, and pacificism — and tied together by a careful review of the colonial background and a venturesome estimate of the religious impulse in subsequent American history, Noll gives attention to every major facet of this complex subject.

For example, his treatment of the Society of Friends rests solidly on the work of Arthur J. Mckeel and Peter Brock, and readers of this journal will appreciate the telling quotation from the 1775 North Carolina Yearly Meeting drawn from Dorothy Gilbert Thorne's 1961 article in the *North Carolina Historical Review*.

Robert M. Calhoun
UNC-Greensboro

Mather, Eleanore Price. *Pendle Hill: A Quaker Experiment in Education and Community*. Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill, 1980. \$7.00

ONE CAN ONLY stand in awe of a group of Friends who would have the audacity to propose the establishment of a new school three days into the Great Depression, and who would then succeed in opening it less than a year later. Such was indeed the beginning of Quakerism's American adult study center of Pendle Hill in Pennsylvania. Now past the half-century mark, it has influenced many in profound ways through its programs and its publications. Eleanore Price's deft little history brings to life the story of a venture of faith that produced a community concerned for wholeness in a way that no Friends college has been able to duplicate. Pendle Hill emerges not only as community and a center of creative learning, but also as a continuing womb of many of the most dynamic, innovative, and socially useful of Quakerism's ideas and programs. North Carolina Friends will be particularly intrigued to learn (if they did not know already) that Hugh Moore was the first student to arrive, in 1930, and was immediately put to work reconstructing the barn!

Damon D. Hickey
Guilford College

Bacon, Margaret Hope. *As the Way Opens: The Story of Quaker Women in America*. Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1980. \$8.95.

THIS SMALL GEM of a book provides a lively overview of a subject that is of increasing interest to Friends and non-Friends of both sexes. Arranged roughly chronologically, it begins with a chapter on the English background and then, as the subtitle indicates, confines itself to American Quaker women. Interspersed in the chronological sequence are chapters dealing with the relationship of American Quaker women to particular issues, including equal education, the professions, abolitionism, women's rights and suffrage, and the peace movement. The book is lacking in two important respects. It has no index, a serious omission in a work that mentions so many individuals. It also passes over many of the major contributions made by Quaker women in the South: for example, the Mendenhall women's role in equal education for women, Clara Cox's work in race relations and the temperance movement, Charity Cook's traveling ministry, and the pioneering of coeducation by New Garden

Boarding School and Guilford College. Fortunately, many of these stories are well told in Paula Jordan's *Women of Guilford County, North Carolina* (reviewed spring, 1980), and readers are urged to purchase her book along with Margaret Bacon's for a more complete story of American Quaker women.

Damon D. Hickey
Guilford College

Butler, David M. *Quaker Meeting Houses of the Lake Counties*. London: Friends Historical Society, 1978. \$9.95 (paperback edition).

FOR THE TRAVELER TO the north of England, for the architectural historian, or for the student of Quaker history, this fine book will prove of great interest. Each meeting house (there are many) in the eight monthly meetings treated (British Friends retain the practice of having many preparative meetings, each with its own meeting house, in every monthly meeting) is described, architecturally and historically, and illustrated. The illustrations are fine pen-and-ink sketches by the author, and each is accompanied by a floor-plan, showing which portions of the buildings are original and which are later additions. Statements are documented in bibliographic notes, and there are two helpful indexes, of place names and selected subjects. This is the second significant and substantial work on British Friends meeting houses to appear in print (the other being Hubert Lidbetter's *The Friends Meeting House*. York: William Sessions, 1961). So far, only picture-books of American Quaker meeting houses and churches have been published, a deficiency that Butler's book may inspire others to remedy.

Damon D. Hickey
Guilford College

Clark, Robert A., and Elkington, J. Russell. *The Quaker Heritage in Medicine*. Pacific Grove, CA: Boxwood Press, 1978. \$3.95.

THIS SMALL BOOK with an ambitious title is actually two lectures (Clark on psychiatry and Elkington on medicine in general) delivered at a Philadelphia symposium in 1976, sponsored by the Friends Medical Society. Because the material is so highly condensed, these pages fairly bristle with

names and dates, but the authors manage nonetheless to make their histories human and readable. The plenitude of prominent Quaker physicians over the past three centuries underscores the oft-cited connection between Friends and the physical sciences, especially in their practical applications. Dr. Elkington makes the further case that Quaker physicians have been notable for their experimental approach to medicine, their concern with the whole person, and their efforts to improve the social conditions that affect health. Unfortunately these studies confine themselves to British Friends and Friends in the northeastern U.S., along with their relief and missionary work abroad. Southern Friends and their pioneering rural medical work are not mentioned, nor (if the index is accurate) is the role of Philadelphia's Jefferson Medical College in educating early Southern Quaker physicians. Given these limitations Drs. Clark and Elkington are to be congratulated for getting much information into a small space.

Damon D. Hickey
Guilford College

Reader, John. *Of Schools and Schoolmasters: Some Thoughts on the Quaker Contribution to Education*. London: Quaker Home Service, 1979. 1.25 (about \$3.00).

JOHN READER'S 1979 Swarthmore Lecture should be interesting to American Friends concerned about education, particularly Quaker education, since its focus is British and therefore offers a different perspective, particularly for Southern Friends. The American South, because of its poverty following the Civil War, was unable to maintain both public and private schools (New Garden Boarding School became Guilford College). Only recently have Friends schools reemerged in the South, despite the region's associations of private schools with elitism or "white flight." John Reader paints a picture of Quaker education going along a somewhat similar path, more than a century after the American South. Tracing his models of schoolmaster and teacher back to Aelred of Rievaulx and Peter Abelard in the twelfth century, he suggests that the Quaker teacher may be more relevant to Britain's educational needs today, and that the schoolmasterly role may be fulfilled in developing a national British educational system (the equivalent of American public schools) that incorporates Friends values. He stresses the themes of

community, compassion, and the peace testimony, and affirms the centrality of Christ for Friends education. American readers may find this study especially helpful when read in conjunction with Helen G. Hole's *Things Civil and Useful: A Personal View of Quaker Education* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1978. \$7.95).

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Editorial Policy

The publication committee is interested in receiving articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in North Carolina and the adjacent geographical area. Articles must be well written and thoroughly documented. Papers on family history should not be submitted. All copy, including footnotes, *should be typed double-space. Articles and correspondence should be sent to:* Herbert Poole, Co-editor; Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C. 27410.

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The Inner Light in the History and Modern Problems of the Society of Friends*

BY

Elbert Russell

WITHIN THE LAST year there have appeared two careful surveys of the present situation in our society. One of these was made by Harold Chance who visited very extensively among the various sections and divisions of Quakerdom.¹ The other was made on the basis of a questionnaire sent to all the Quaker pastors in the United States by Marshall Taylor of New York. The latter gives of course an impression of conditions among Pastoral Friends only; but enough replies were received to give a fair sample of conditions and opinions in this section according to the principles of Gallup polls.²

These surveys make it clear that in large sections of the Society there have come about great changes from primitive Quakerism, not merely in details of practice but in fundamental principles. It is proposed here to re-examine the fundamental principles of the Founders of the Society, especially the central doctrine of the Inner Light, and then note the causes and character of the principal changes in its application that have come about in the intervening three centuries.

*At North Carolina Yearly Meeting on eighth month, the eighth, 1945 Elbert Russell delivered "The Inner Light in the History and Present Problems of the Society of Friends." That year, the North Carolina Friends Historical Society chose Russell's lecture as its first publication. Those attending the Society's annual meeting in 1979 received gratis copies of the original edition, now a collector's item. Feeling that Elbert Russell's significant treatment of his subject warrants republication and that it continues to have great value for the Society of Friends as a whole and for others interested in Quakerism, the Historical Society now seeks to make it available once again after more than thirty-five years.

The present situation seems to be critical for our continued existence as a separate religious body. It appears that the great majority of our members no longer share the traditional peace attitude of the Founders. We have failed dismally to pass on the conviction on which it was founded to the generation that has come of age since 1918. The Society has not only suffered the erosion of most of the older "peculiarities" and "distinguishing testimonies" in practice, but has borrowed from denominational neighbors without much adaptation to Quaker fundamentals many theological expressions and concepts, practices and modes of organization. In the minds of many there is no longer any vital reason why Friends should remain a distinct sect rather than join with other denominations that seem to differ from us only in the practice of the outward ordinances, which seems to them no longer a vital matter. These conditions raise the question: How far are they compatible with the principle of the Inner Light? Do they constitute an abandonment of our original foundation principle?

A marked feature of modern history is the tendency toward personal independence, self-sufficiency and autonomy. This is true in mechanics, politics, science and religion. The locomotive steam engine, the Diesel electric engine and the automobile all illustrate it. At first the benefits of steam power were confined to machines that could be reached from the engine by shafts and belts: the wonder of the locomotive steam engine and the automobile was that each carries its own generator within it. Electric power was at first confined to motors that were near enough to the power stations for current to be carried without too great loss through transmission lines whether trolley-wire, third rail or high tension wires. The Diesel electric locomotive of the streamliner carries its own generator.

There is the same tendency toward personal autonomy in government and education. In medieval times justice and security were provided for the individual citizens by a king or ruling class set over them; but in the growth of democracy the state relies more and more on the sense of justice and the self-control of the individual to guarantee security and justice to himself and his

neighbors. In modern science and education the aim is not so much to provide an authoritative ready-made body of knowledge in dictionary, textbook and teacher as to train each person to think for himself and to give him the techniques of the search for truth.

In the medieval church spiritual life and power, the knowledge of God and duty, were provided by the church and aside from its ministries there was thought to be no salvation. Its baptism provided regeneration, the beginning of the Christian life; its sacrament of the mass provided the dynamic of growing spiritual power; its confessional provided the means of grace for sinners through penance and forgiveness; and its pope, councils and priests taught the way of duty and the content of faith inerrantly.

The modern Christian world was driven away from this authoritarianism to the autonomy of the individual more and more by events in the history of the medieval and modern church; notably by the Great Schism, 1378–1418, when there were then two rival popes, each with about equal claims to be the truly chosen successor of Saint Peter, ruling one in Rome and the other at Avignon in Southern France. Each had the political support of certain kings and princes in Europe. The church denied that the individual was competent to judge in religious matters, because his reason was perverted and his conscience depraved, but this situation required individual believers to make the all-momentous decision as to which was the true church. Even though they decided, as most of them did, that the ruler of the country in which they resided was right in his preference, that was still a personal decision. This raised the question: If the individual had the capacity to decide a question of such fundamental importance, was there good reason to deny his competence in other matters?

The Protestant Reformation moved a few steps away from a dependence of the individual on the church and toward a spiritual autonomy. The doctrine of the priesthood of believers and the right of private judgment gave the believer greater freedom and self-dependence. But it left him dependent on the Bible solely for knowledge of obligatory faith and practice, and provided ready-made interpretations of the teachings of the Bible. Calvin, to be

sure, referred the believer, in case of doubt, to the Holy Spirit as the true interpreter of the Bible, but in case of differences as to what the teaching of the Spirit was, he gave the church the authoritative and final word. All the early Protestant sects believed that there could be no true development of the spiritual life without the sacraments, for which the church and its priesthood were essential.

The Protestant was nevertheless forced more and more to seek within himself the sources of spiritual life and knowledge. There were many Protestant sects, each claiming to be the true church, each professing the Bible as the ultimate authority. Each quoted the Bible as validating its own claims. The individual was therefore compelled to make choices, which practically all of the Protestant sects denied that he was capable of making. He was driven to interpret the Bible for himself. When the churches differed as to the leading and teaching of the Holy Spirit as the interpreter of the Scriptures, he was compelled to decide which was correct. He had to answer such questions as these: Which sect has a valid priesthood? How many sacraments does the Bible require? Which of the many creeds and church policies are Scriptural? There was no escape from the necessity of settling these questions for oneself and by one's own inner conviction as to what was right and true.

Quakerism was one of the sects in the Seventeenth Century, which boldly faced this necessity and claimed that man's competence, by the grace of God, is equal to his necessity; and that God has provided within the human personality without dependence on outward authorities the means of spiritual life, power, knowledge, grace and moral direction. The doctrine of the Inner Light, under a great variety of names and designations, was the recognition and proclamation of the spiritual freedom and autonomy of the individual soul. Calvin had taught that only the *elect* are given the Spirit by special dispensation, so as to enable them to believe and accept the Gospel; George Fox boldly claimed that God has endowed *all* men with spiritual capacity for the spiritual life and that each has within himself, quite apart from outward institutions and other human helps, the means of spiritual life, knowledge,

guidance and power by drawing upon the divine source within the soul.

This is not a question of a divine or a human source of spiritual light, life, and salvation. Just as practically all power, light and life on earth come ultimately from the sun, so all spiritual energy, life and truth come from God. All Christians agree on that. The great issue is whether these sources of goodness can come directly to the individual man, or whether they must be mediated by something external, whether sacrament, priest, Bible or church. The Catholic church holds the latter view. The Quaker contention is that man carries within the soul by divine provision all the needful apparatus for the spiritual life.

The two extremes represented by Catholic and Quaker correspond to the means of satisfying two essential needs of the physical life. The human body needs oxygen and nitrogen which compose most of the air in which we live. It is equipped with lungs by which, without other help, it can secure moment by moment the life-giving oxygen. But it has no such means of appropriating nitrogen from the air. It requires the intermediate agency of plants and animals to "fix" the free nitrogen of the air into proteins which the body can use. Without their mediating agency we would starve for nitrogen in a gaseous ocean of it. The Catholic insists that the gifts of God are like nitrogen. They can only be obtained through the mediating agency of the true church. The Quaker is sure each individual can receive directly and immediately from God all the good gifts which he longs to give to his children.

It is important to remember in using such illustrations and analogies, that spiritual life, power and knowledge are always personal. Spiritual life is begotten of persons. Spiritual power is not something that can be delivered like a can of gasoline or a storage battery or a tank of oxygen for separate or future use. It comes by direct transfer from person to person. Spiritual knowledge cannot be transferred by the delivery of an educational film. These boons of the spiritual life and experience are the result of personal association and communion. It is because the risen and

living Christ may be known within the individual as giver of life, teacher, lover and strengthener that the individual believer carries his own resources with him, independent of the paraphernalia, forms and ministrations of any outward source. A classic passage from Fox's *Journal* reads: "Now the Lord God opened to me by his invisible power, that every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ and I saw it shine through all; and they that believed it came out of condemnation to the light of life, and became children of it; but they that hated it, and did not believe in it, were condemned by it, though they made a profession of Christ . . . I was sent to turn people from darkness to the light that they might receive Jesus Christ."³

The Quaker Founders used many terms to express this fact of God known and working within them, such as the Inward Light, the Light of Christ, the Light Within, the Seed, the Spirit of Christ, the Spirit, the Root; and later, the Inner Light, the Truth or simply Truth, "That of God" in men, "the divine principle" or "the Universal and Saving Light." None of these expressions implied any inherent goodness or way of salvation in men apart from the presence and work of God.

Friends did not regard the Inward Light as an infallible guide. Its source, to be sure, is the infallible Spirit of God, but the treasure is in earthen vessels.⁴ Nevertheless, it is the best that is given us. One of my schoolmates at college had a peculiar way of walking. When one of her classmates teased her good naturedly about her walk, she replied, "Don't make fun of my walk; it's the only way I have of getting about." It is easy to make merry over the eccentricities of some Friends who claimed to be moved by the Spirit. But no better way of spiritual direction has been found. Quaker disownments compare favorably with the cruelties of the Inquisition. The bitterness of our separations was milder than the hatreds of Protestant religious wars. Our eccentricities of Biblical interpretation are not worse than those of certain modern sects who claim to find infallible guidance in the Bible.

Early Friends learned to avoid at least some of the pitfalls that await those who try to follow the Inward Guide. The psychic life is

a babel of voices, a welter of diverse impulses. One must learn by careful and consecrated attention and sometimes by sad experience, to recognize the Shepherd's voice, as Woolman put it. Friends found certain tests that helped, like buoys marking the safe channel into a harbor. For one thing, impulses to evil are not of God. For another, one must be sincere, i.e. honest with himself and conscientious. In the third place, the Inward Light may transcend conscience; it coincides with our highest ideal of what ought to be, especially of what we demand of others. Lastly and most important, the Inner Light is the Inward Christ and must agree with the principles of Jesus' teaching and character.

The Founders were especially insistent on the identity of the historic with the Inward Christ. It was Christ who spoke to the condition of George Fox and brought the great transformation and release, which started the Quaker movement. Again and again Friends individually and officially asserted that the Inward Light of Christ was not a different Christ from Jesus of Nazareth.

"We own Christ to be a Savior; but we lay the main stress upon the life which took upon it the manhood. And that life, wherever it appears is of a saving nature: and doth save . . . yet none, in the measure of this life, can deny the appearance of the fulness of life in that body of flesh, and what He did therein towards the redemption and salvation of mankind.

"And we believe that this God hath given his son Christ Jesus into the world, a free gift to the whole world, and that every man that cometh into the world is lighted by him, that everyone may believe and be saved."⁵ Since they owned no spirit or Light other than that which appeared in Jesus, they checked all supposed leadings, openings, or revelations by the recorded spirit and teaching of Jesus.

A passage from John Wilhelm Rountree sums up the Quaker attitude: "The difficulties of the doctrine of Inward Guidance are, as James Nayler's experience reminds us, serious and practical. I would suggest that the solution lies in a deeper interpretation of the person and message of Jesus Christ. Apart from the thought of God as we see Him set forth in Jesus, and the common

consciousness of truth as revealed in lofty souls who have been touched by His spiritual fire, it is not evident how the faults of individual interpretation are to be corrected . . . (But) with Jesus as the Gospel, witnessed in the conscience of a civilization infected by His Spirit, I see the balance wheel to the doctrine of the Inward Light.”⁶

Aviators flying at night are able to keep their course by flying between parallel “beams” of radio signals. If they deviate from the right course, they can hear the signal from one station but not from the other. In between the beams they hear the reassuring hum that means safety. Friends are most assured when the Inward Christ and the historic Christ speak in unison, “make one music.”

It is important to recognize how the four elements of the Christian life arose in Quaker experience. They seem to have come in the following order: life, energy, doctrine, and duty. The testimonials of the Founders of the Society emphasize that their initial experiences were of new life and power. After George Fox had left the priests of the Established Church and the ministrations of the Nonconformists, he made his great discovery of the inwardness and sufficiency of the Inward Christ. The whole creation had for him a new smell. He came up through the flaming sword into the paradise of God, and felt himself in the state of Adam before the fall. He realized the power of the infinite Ocean of Love that overflowed the infinite ocean of darkness and sin; he came up victoriously “atop of the Devil.” The Inward Christ was not only able to speak redemptively to his despairing condition, but became his constant Teacher and Guide. These experiences and leadings preceded conscious teaching of them by the Bible or doctrines about them. Theory followed experience of life and power, as in science hypothesis follows experiment. He found himself filled with the love of God; he lived in the life and power that took away the occasion of all war, he shared the redemptive love of God for all men. He wished to turn them all to the inward teacher and savior; to the Father who is not a God afar off but near at hand “in the heart and in the mouth.” The testimonies of other early Friends are similar.

This was the testimony of James Nayler: "I was at the plough, meditating on the things of God, and suddenly I heard a Voice saying unto me, 'Get thee out from thy kindred and from thy father's house.' And I had a promise given with it. Whereupon I did exceedingly rejoice, that I had heard the voice of that God which I had professed from a child, but had never known him."⁷

William Dewsbury says: "And this I declare to all the inhabitants in England, and to all that dwell upon the earth, that God alone is the teacher of his people, and hath given to everyone a measure of Grace, which is the light that comes from Christ . . . And this I witness to all the sons of men, that I came not to the knowledge of eternal life by the letter of Scripture, nor by hearing men speak of the name of God. I came to the true knowledge of the Scriptures, and the eternal rest . . . by the inspiration of Jesus."⁸

One notices in these testimonies the absence of rationalization. Where doctrines or creeds are regarded as the primary thing in religion, there is usually an attempt to fit the experience to the doctrine. But in these the upspringing of new life and the accession of fresh energies are made primary.

All these elements of the Inner Light — new life, power, doctrine, love — remained throughout the varied history of Friends but were stressed in different ways at different periods. Dr. Sippel maintains that the one constant element in Quakerism through all its periods and branches is the philanthropic interest, the passion to relieve human suffering and to secure a fuller and larger life for men, the sense of the constraining power of divine Love. However, in some form or degree all these elements were consciously involved in later Quaker experience: new life, power, teaching and love. At times theological orthodoxy was pushed to the fore, as when Barclay's *Apology* became a doctrinal authority and especially after the Evangelical influence became dominant. At other times the organization came uppermost as when the traditional views, testimonials and "peculiarities" were enforced by the elders, and nonconformists were rigidly disowned. The authority of the Bible was stressed also by the Evangelical influ-

ence, until it became an outward authority instead of simply a spiritual help to the understanding of God's character and the mind of the Spirit. Certain elements of the Society stressed in later times an emotionally powerful experience of new birth and sanctification as the vital element. Twice only in our history was the whole doctrine of the Inward Light formally disowned; once by Isaac Crewdson, leader of the Beaconite secession in England (about 1835) and once by Ohio Yearly meeting at the height of the Evangelical influence in America; although in the latter case, it was only to make sure of the doctrine of the transforming work of the Holy Spirit.

The minute read: "We do not believe that there is any principle or quality in the soul of man, innate or otherwise, which, even though rightly used, will ever save a single soul; but that it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believed; and the Holy Spirit is sent to convince the ungodly of sin, who, upon repentance towards God, and faith in Jesus Christ who died for us, are justified by His blood; and we repudiate the so-called doctrine of the inner light, or the gift of a portion of the Holy Spirit in the soul of every man, as dangerous, unsound, and unscriptural."⁹ There has been a tendency with a few Friends, along with the emphasis on the outward authority of the Bible, and largely as a consequence of it, to practice the ordinances, especially baptism; and a few, both among the Evangelicals in America and the Beaconites in England accepted the celebration of the Lord's Supper also as obligatory. On the whole, however, most Evangelical Friends both in England and America have not taken up the practice of the outward sacraments. In many cases, this remains the chief distinction between them and some other Protestant sects, such as Nazarenes, Church of God and the Pentecostal Holiness Church.

The two most profound modifications of the initial concept of the Inward Light in our history were through Quietism in the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth centuries and through Evangelicalism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries. We shall take them in order. In speaking of these I can only dwell on certain

general tendencies. At the same time I am thoroughly aware that they affected individual Friends in very different ways and that the characteristics ascribed to Quietism and Evangelicalism were probably never all true of any particular Friend or meeting. The period of Quietism in our Quaker history was roughly from 1737 to 1828. There had been in Barclay and Keith especially among the Founders of the Society a remnant of the Calvinistic distrust of human nature and especially of the human reason as fallen and incompetent. During the period of Quietism this was reinforced by the influence of certain Catholic mystics, especially by the writings of the French mystic Madame Guyon. Quietism was essentially a method of seeking the guidance of the Spirit of God within the spirit of the worshipper, a way of consulting the Inward Light. Distrusting outward exercises and forms as distracting, and so interfering with the openness and sensitiveness of the worshipper to the divine voice of "movings," it feared any "creaturely activities." It also believed that conscious and deliberate effort to learn God's will, and all reasoned and purposeful thinking, interfered with the soul's communion with God. So the worshipper sought to attain an attitude of suspended activity both inward and outward in order that God might be found and understood. This fitted well with Friends' meeting for worship held on the basis of silence; so that in time, silence was emphasized not merely as a way of entering into worship and a mode of common procedure in it, but as an essential element in itself. Friends began to apologize for breaking the silence. They justified it only by so strong a sense of duty that they could no longer remain silent and be true to their leading. At times they explained that they had to speak in order to relieve their minds or regain inward peace.

The fear of creaturely activity lead to great hesitations on the part of the traveling ministry, especially about their movements and about breaking the silence. These hesitations were accompanied often by great inward struggles and agony, so great was the fear of "getting ahead of" or "outrunning their Guide." Job Scott on one occasion attended meetings thirteen days in succes-

sion before he got sufficient assurance to enable him to speak.

Another limitation of the guidance of the Inward Light was imposed by a subtle and generally unconscious shift in the meaning of the word "immediate." The Founders had stressed the immediate guidance of the Light over against any mediated guidance through priest, church or book, and against any necessary channeling of God's forgiveness or gifts of grace through sacraments or ritual. But in Friends' reaction against dependence on ritual and outward forms of worship, against programmed meetings and prearranged services, the word "immediate" shifted gears silently to another meaning. "Immediate" came to mean "extemporaneous," "on the spur of the moment," "without premeditation or planning." This tended to eliminate not only prearrangement in religious programs, but seemed to run counter to formal and regular religious instruction, regular Bible reading or instruction, and all planned religious activities. It ruled out organized religious work of any kind, such as missionary work on a long-term, organized basis, First Day Schools and even regular family worship. The traveling ministers, whose activity was so characteristic and so vital for the life of the Society planned their work but a step in advance and proceeded only "as way opened." They limited thus the willingness of God to give guidance for a whole program or for a long period or denied the capacity of men to sense that will except when confronted with a situation to be acted on in the immediate present.

A third type of limitation imposed by Quietism on the leading of the Inward Light consisted of the traditions or what were later called the "peculiarities" or "testimonies," which practically confined the operation of the Light to the customs, forms and vocabulary of the Founders. Any inward motion that ran counter to them was suspected and usually discarded as not a "pure moving," as "of the creature" and "not in the life." They fenced in the permitted areas in life, thought and worship of acknowledged Friends. Persons who refused to be bound by them were disowned from the fellowship. Even those who seemed to condone violations of them or who cooperated with others who worshipped

or lived differently were put without the pale of the spiritual fellowship.

An amusing illustration of this frame of mind occurred in the old Miami meeting in western Ohio. An itinerant Methodist minister rode by the meetinghouse one day as Friends gathered for Quarterly meeting, so he hitched his horse to the rack, and went in without knowing what denomination they represented. He found a seat, as it happened, by the neighborhood wag, who was a birthright member but not wholly in sympathy. The meeting settled into silence; and finally the Methodist minister began to be uneasy that nothing was done. He leaned over to the wag and asked: "What are they waiting for?" "Can thee raise a hymn?" the latter asked. The visitor was glad to help out, since the song leader seemed to be delayed, and promptly started a rousing hymn. The story ended that it broke up the meeting, as Friends poured out into the yard, "like a swarm of angry bees." Earlier Friends might have waited patiently to the end; and a few of them might even have respected a sincere spirit worshipping God in his own way.

One result of thus limiting the range and means of the Spirit's guidance was the partial loss of the sense of Christian realities; the substitution of signs and labels for the experience of God himself. In large measure it brought again the "shams" and "notions" against which George Fox and his co-workers had protested so vigorously. For the Inward Light to be a completely adequate guide in life, all the windows of the soul must be kept wide for the Light to come in; God must be allowed to speak with whatever voice and in whatever language and at whatever time he sees fit.

These limitations on the channels of Divine guidance were not accepted without occasional protest and there were great souls who refused to be wholly limited by them. William Penn protested that all noble souls are of one religion no matter how diverse the liveries they wear.¹⁰ Margaret Fell protested against thinking that God, who clothed the moors and fells with flowers, confined his peoples' dress to Quaker drab. John Woolman recognized the voice of the Inward Christ in *The Imitation of Christ* even though

the author was a Catholic monk, and in John Huss who refused to violate his conscience at the command of church and empire. Madame Guyon was recognized by many generations as having heard the same "accents of the Holy Ghost" which came to them. Stephen Grellet found that underneath their robes and ritual many of the prelates of the Russian Orthodox church had been baptized into the things of the kingdom of God."

Early Friends discontinued the use of the sacraments of the Protestant churches, because they found it possible to have spiritual rebirth and spiritual communion with God without their mediation. The only way they could prove to their neighbors that the outward ordinances were not necessary to full spiritual life was to show the fruits of the Spirit without using them. This was a long way from saying that they were in themselves wrong or that spiritual life and communion were impossible if the ordinances were used. Barclay makes the admission that many found the spiritual realities while using them.¹¹ The fundamental Quaker position was that they were religiously indifferent, except insofar as they were regarded as substitutes for spiritual realities themselves; that neither circumcision or uncircumcision, neither baptism nor the lack of it, availed anything, but only "faith working through love." But in the ages of Quietism Friends came to believe that the use of the outward sacraments necessarily interfered with or prevented the inward communion, and therefore refused fellowship with those who used the outward elements without inquiring carefully whether they were spiritually reborn or guided or enjoyed the spiritual communion.

Within the limits set by the traditions and peculiarities, the Society of the Quietist period nourished many tender spirits, who carefully shared the Spirit of Christ, in feeling the pain and sorrow of their neighbors, as if they were their own. They pioneered in work for prisoner and slave, for the Indians and neglected classes. Following the Inward Light produced very Christlike characters, judged by their fruits. They shared their time with neighbors when they were sick, shared their possessions with them when adversity befell, and labored with Christlike concern for the

wayward and erring. Despite the limitations, inhibitions and hesitations of their worship, they had hours of close communion and inspiring fellowship. Under the stimulus of the reading of the Queries or when some minister with a gift for speaking to conditions probed their lives and motives closely, the "Great Searcher of Hearts" laid his finger on their failures and sins and said "Thou ailest here and here and here." When now and then someone proved derelict or even fell into gross sin, the meeting humbly labored to restore him in a spirit of meekness, looking to themselves lest they also be tempted. The membership maintained under the Inward Spirit's ministration and guidance a high level of peace and purity, as each, to quote Whittier,

"Holding, as in the Master's sight,
Act and thought to the inner light,
The round of his simple duties walked,
And strove to live what the others talked."¹²

One result of the fear of creaturely activities and of lifeless forms was that members lost that intimate knowledge of the Bible and full knowledge of the historic Christ which characterized the generation of the Founders. Puritan England had known the Bible; men carried copies with them and discussed and quoted Scripture at every turn. George Fox and his contemporaries shared this acquaintance with the Bible. But in the period of Quietism, with some notable exceptions, this familiarity was lost by the succeeding generations of Friends. They no longer could check so well the origin and character of the inner voices by the Jesus of history.

The second great influence modifying the central position of the Inner Light among Friends came from the Evangelical movement. Through John Wesley and the Methodists it came primarily from German Pietism into England and powerfully influenced the Church of England. At the beginning of the Nineteenth Century it reached a very influential section of English Quakerism through the association of leaders like the Gurneys and Frys with Evangelical philanthropists of the Established Church in the anti-slavery

movement, prison reform, and similar reform movements. Prominent English Friends introduced it into America. In the Great Revival in the second half of the Nineteenth Century, it influenced American Friends a second time, chiefly through the Methodists.

Most important for its initial influence on American Quakerism were its emphasis on Bible study, on conversion as a definite experience, on the outward authority of the Bible and on a particular creed as a prerequisite to and an essential element in saving faith, especially the belief in the depravity of human nature, the deity of Christ; and justification secured through the blood-atonement. It fostered religious education but feared freedom of thought, because it distrusted the human reason. These features involved for Friends a profound modification of Friend's attitude to the Inner Light. Evangelicalism put a theological belief first and the experience of a renewal of life second instead of the reverse order. It made the Bible an outward authority instead of primarily a guide book to the personal religious experience. It stressed forgiveness of sins as the essence of salvation, instead of the deliverance from sinning; it emphasized deliverance from the consequences of sin in the next life more than deliverance from the power of sin here and now. This change was hardly made up for by emphasis on the leading of the Holy Spirit and on sanctification as a second experience. The evangelical tendency was to shift the source of truth and salvation in large part to things outside the soul of the Christian. It set up a legalistic moral code for believers and judged them by it. Orthodoxy requires an authoritative interpreter of the Bible; so that however much Friends continued to insist in theory that the Spirit interpreted the Scriptures for each person, in practice the evangelical influence tended to produce authoritative interpretations of the Bible by the church or by influential leaders. It fostered doctrinal intolerance and led to separations and refusal of fellowship in worship and work with others pronounced to be unsound. It weakened faith in the Light in all men and in their potential divine sonship. It was in general eager to "save souls" but lost some of Jesus' sense of the infinite worth of the whole man. Evangelical Friends continued

the traditional philanthropies; they worked for peace, the abolition of slavery, the welfare of the Indians, freedmen and prisoners. But the fear of "salvation by good works" and of "mere mortality" tended to divert attention from these as essential expressions of the Christian life.

The Evangelical ideal had much in common with Quakerism. It insisted on personal religious experience as the basis of assurance; it stressed the historic Christ; it emphasized the moral content of the Christian life; it looked to the leading of the Holy Spirit; and it was evangelistic and missionary in spirit. The likeness was often more apparent than real, hardly extending beyond the vocabulary used. Early Friends often used the current language of Christian thought which was common to all Christians, Catholic as well as Protestant. But the content and emphasis were often very different, due to the place the expressions occupied in the whole system of theology. Among Friends Barclay and Penn especially had used the terminology of current Protestantism quite freely. Fox also did this at times, especially in statements intended to show that Friends were essentially Christian, as in his letter to the Governor of Barbados Islands. The same was even more true of the "Declaration of Truth and the Scriptures" by Holder, Copeland and Doudney in New England (1657).¹³

In its total pattern, however, Evangelicalism profoundly modified the ideals of Quakerism. The Founders had great confidence in truth and great openness toward it. The attitude of Fox, Penn and others toward the natural sciences was unusual for religious people in their time. Friends produced a remarkable number of scientists both in England and America. They were not inhibited by a literal understanding of the Bible, especially the earlier chapters of Genesis. They were free to follow the truth wherever the Spirit of truth led them. In religious thought and life they were not in bondage to the letter of Scripture. Their final authority was their own sense of truth as the Spirit within taught them. Men like Barclay, Fisher and even Gurney were not afraid of scholarship even in matters religious, and especially in the study of the Bible. They trusted the Spirit, if followed carefully and

reverently. The Evangelical doctrine of original sin or human depravity on the other hand tended to introduce an element of externality into religious attitudes. If men are guilty before God for something that they did not do themselves from free choice, then they can only be saved from sin by something done without them; salvation becomes an outward *transaction*; secured by the death of Christ to appease God, so that he will *impute* a righteousness to men which they do not actually have; salvation comes to consist primarily not in making men righteous but in getting God to treat them as righteous. Men get the benefit of this transaction not by letting the Inward Christ transform them into his own image, but by a faith that is only secondarily related to character.

Early Quakerism stressed salvation as consisting essentially in making men righteous by the inworking Spirit, the condition of which is faith — which is essentially trust in the power of Christ to deliver them from inward bondage to the flesh in response to obedience to the Light of Christ as He gives strength and guidance. The salvation wrought by Christ is thus primarily inward and ethically creative. George Fox never tired of denouncing the religious teachers of his day who taught that salvation was primarily external and future and “pleaded for sin for term of life.”

Very important, therefore, was the change which Evangelicalism made in Friends’ preaching, thinking and living regarding the nature of Christian experience. When the doctrine of human depravity made Friends suspicious of inner leadings and reasonings, they expressed divine guidance in terms of the Holy Spirit, who was thought of not primarily as identical with the spirit of Jesus but as essentially an agency coming in (often sporadically) from the outside, conveying a power or sanctity, which could be retained apart from his continual indwelling or felt presence. To early Friends the Spirit of Christ was in indwelling presence; religious experience flowed from a continuous fellowship; but the tendency of Evangelicalism, especially of Methodism, was to stress occasional and notable experiences, such as repentance, conversion, sanctification, back-sliding and

renewal. Quakerism sought for a continuing relationship like the calm peace of married companionship: Evangelicalism the mountain top experience of acquaintance, proposal and wedding day, the storm and stress of occasional quarrels and "the sweetness of forgiveness." The Inward Christ represents the high plateau of "righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost"; the Holy Ghost of the Evangelical experience represents rather the occasional ministrations when he descends, or comes down or is poured out on the believer, fills him, baptizes or sanctifies him.

Jesus identified the Holy Spirit with his own person and work. The Spirit of Truth who was to take his place with believers would not speak of himself, Jesus asserted, but would bring to mind Jesus' teaching; he would take Jesus' truth and reveal it to them. He calls the Holy Spirit the Spirit of truth; one of his chief functions is to continue Jesus' teachings and lead believers to the whole of truth. Paul also asserts that the Lord is the Spirit.

Evangelicalism lost touch with much of the gospel record and especially with the teaching of Jesus; it emphasized certain parts in Jesus' career, such as the Virgin birth, the miracles, the death and resurrection. But the Jesus "who was anointed with the Holy Spirit and power and went about doing good" was relatively neglected. The Holy Spirit was not identified in character, message and work wholly with the Jesus of the Gospels nor with the Father of all, whom he revealed.

Evangelical theology seemed to exaggerate the doctrine of the Trinity into a belief in the different character, purpose and attitudes of the Holy Spirit toward men. Early Friends, when they listened for the voice of God within, listened for the Voice that was heard in Galilee with its message of the Universal Father who loved all men, who willed not that any perish and sent his Son to die to save them; who is kind to the unthankful and evil; who is long-suffering, forgiving, and eager to give good gifts to his children. Likewise when the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God, who is the Spirit of Truth, the Comforter, speaks and guides, the early Friends expected to perceive the Light of Christ, who said "forbid him not; no one can do a good work in my name and speak evil of

me," who rebuked the spirit of James and John, when they wanted to destroy an inhospitable Samaritan village; who had compassion on the sick and on the leaderless people; who forgave men even their blasphemies against him; who enjoyed love of enemies and blessed peace-makers; who when he was reviled, reviled not again; who prayed for those who crucified him; who refused the sword and crown and trusted truth, love and the Cross to bring salvation to men. They had no stronger evidence of his deity than his love; for God is love. Nor could they believe in his divinity without believing in his teaching, even as Jesus protested: "Why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things that I say?"

Another change which came with Evangelicalism was the divorce between its conception of regeneration or the new birth and that presented in the teaching of Jesus. Possibly here is the greatest gulf between the Evangelical and original Quaker ideals. Evangelicalism has rightly stressed the crucial importance of spiritual rebirth, for Jesus taught that membership in the kingdom of God requires it. It overstressed, however, the time and emotional elements that are common in adult experience, and has neglected the cases of gradual growth and less spectacular change that are common in young people who grow up under religious influences such as are found in a Christian home, school and community. As staunch an Evangelical as J. J. Gurney recognized the artificiality of such limitations. He said:

I was by no means insensible, in very early life, to religious considerations, being no stranger from the first opening of my mental faculties, to those various visitations of divine life which often draw the young life to its Creator and melt it into tenderness. If religion has indeed grown in me (as I humbly believe it has, although amidst innumerable backslidings), it has pretty much kept pace with the growth of my natural faculties for I cannot now recall any decided turning point in this matter, except that which afterwards brought me to "plain" Quakerism. Cases of this description are in my opinion in no degree at variance with the cardinal Christian doctrine of the necessity of conversion and the new birth unto righteousness.¹⁴

Evangelicalism had also a quite limited moral ideal for the

converted man as compared with that set up in Jesus' teachings. According to the former the Christian must keep the ten commandments and be a law abiding citizen; he must not swear, drink or (sometimes) use tobacco; and he must abstain from worldly amusements, especially from dancing, card-playing and theater-going. Some ministers have even included among things forbidden, wearing jewelry and using cosmetics for women, attending baseball games or horse-racing for men. These requirements are usually thought of in a legalistic way rather than as natural expressions of the Spirit of Christ and of neighborly love.

The Christian pattern as given by Jesus involves a wider area; it reaches the social and institutional life as well as personal relations. In the first place, it excludes outward and physical limitations and distinctions. Family or racial heredity had for him no spiritual significance: "What is born of the flesh is only flesh." The lines of spiritual cleavage run through classes and families: "One is taken and another left." Jews as Jews have no ticket of admission to the kingdom of heaven nor are Gentiles, as such, excluded. Whosoever shall do the will of God is spiritually a member of the family of Jesus.

Jesus was indifferent to outward things in relation to the spiritual life. External washings, clean or unclean meats, and outward sacrifices (blood of bulls and goats) and even circumcision have, he taught, no essential relationship to the Christian life. Paul carried this step further and insisted that not only is circumcision of no value but that uncircumcision is equally indifferent. Nothing he asserts, is unclean of itself.¹⁵

The Biblically defined character of the spiritually born child of God has been most amazingly neglected by Evangelical teaching. The three most important passages in which Jesus defines it are: Love your enemies that ye may be sons of your Father who is in heaven. Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called sons of God. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another. Yet it has been generally held that a man may be acceptably converted and continue to kill his enemy as a

soldier; hate foreign enemies; and even hate pacifists!

Paul and John likewise put the stress on brotherly love for all men, when they define the new creature in Christ Jesus; neither circumcision nor uncircumcision counts but only "faith working through love": "In Christ Jesus there can be neither Jew nor Gentile"; "When you have died to sin, you put on Christ Jesus and above all you put on love which is the bond which makes Christian character complete." "We know that we have passed out of death into life, because we love the brethren." "Beloved, let us love one another, for love is of God; and everyone that loveth is begotten of God and knoweth God." Evangelicalism has rightly stressed statements in First John about the necessity of believing that Jesus is the Christ or confessing that he is the Son of God; but has been strangely blind to the definition of the moral consequences of that faith. "And this is his commandment that we should believe in the name of his son Jesus Christ and love one another." This is where the Inward and historic Christ speak in unison.

As a result of these influences the doctrine of the Inner Light has been reduced to little more than a good conscience with some Friends; with others it has been quietly renounced in practice, if not in theory, because of the continual encroachment of the ideas of an alien system, which tend to shift the center of religious life, practice and authority away from the continual presence and inworking of the Spirit of Christ in the soul; to put redemption solely in the life and death of Christ, or to refer it to a future event such as the judgment day or to admission to heaven after death; or to exalt the Scriptures into an authority above the voice of the Spirit in the soul; or to separate the character of the Holy Spirit from the character of Jesus or from the character of God as Jesus revealed him; or to set the Christ of history over against the Inward Christ.

It is easy to exaggerate these changes and ignore the elements of Quaker spirit and life that have remained unchanged. Evangelical Friends have kept to a large degree the traditional philanthropies and sympathy for needy and suffering humanity. We have developed able leaders in the work of the church and in

movements of social reform. We have raised up able educators and statesmen in missionary and relief work. We have enlisted many of the young people in the work of the society. We have maintained schools and colleges beyond our financial ability and stretched our concern for the heathen into a world-wide network of missions. Evangelical Quakerism is in fact distinguished more by religious activities than by saintliness of character.

The tendencies noted above are important not so much for their theology but because of their effect on life and practice in weaning us from attention to the Inward Light of Christ and dependence on Him; and from the life and teaching of Jesus. It has cooled our passion to minister to all men; inclined us to follow the practices of the half-pagan world; to accept the dictates of the state "as the will of God," to modify our sense of God's will for us so that we teach a gospel that lets men with un-Christlike acts and dispositions still believe they were born of the Spirit of Universal Love, while hating and destroying their fellowmen for whom Christ died.

We must go back to our original belief that externals are irrelevant; that neither silence nor music, baptism nor the lack of it; neither the outward elements of communion nor a stereotyped liturgy; neither ordained priests, nor the absence of them, commends us to God or is an essential condition of salvation or the Christian life. As I see it, it is the loss of reliance on the Christ within that has resulted in the loss of our first devotion, and of our exceptional character.

Let us have programmed meetings if we find them helpful to finding the will of God in the way of Christ; let us have singing, pastors with prepared sermons, and anything else that produces men led by the Spirit of Jesus, transformed into his likeness, and born of the Spirit of the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Let us have organized missions, high pressure revivals, evangelistic campaigns and any other methods of spreading the gospel, if they are effective in bringing men to "Christ within the soul and then shutting the door and leaving them there." Or let us follow the older ways, observing the peculiarities and worship on the basis of

silence if these help best to so live that Christ lives in us. These are but "outwards," indifferent in themselves, to be judged and used only according to the effectiveness in leading to the Christian character. If definite conversion converts men to Jesus' teaching, so that Christ is formed in them; if it makes them sons of God who love all men as Christ loved them, who love their enemies and bless them that persecute them, and are peacemakers, then these methods will be justified of their children.

If the doctrine of sanctification through the inworking of the Holy Spirit, whether by eradicating or by suppressing the sinful nature, whether by one or by many experiences, produces a holiness like the love of God and the unselfish love of the Christ of the Cross, then the doctrine will be justified by its fruits.

"It is the Spirit that gives life; the flesh profiteth nothing." It was the distinctive fruit of the practice of following the Inner Light in the early days that justified it. It is the failure of the new doctrinal statements and new methods so often to produce the fine fruits of Christian character as defined and illustrated by Jesus, that raises the question of their consistency with the requirements of the present age. What have we to offer the world that the rest of the Protestant world does not offer, if it is not the spiritual autonomy of the individual, Christian freedom and democracy, and universal brotherhood? Modern liberalism and fundamentalism alike have used the terms, but most of them in the present crisis which tries men's religious faith, have failed, as have so many Friends, to bring forth the fruits of Christ's kingdom.

If we must have mourners' benches, let us use them now by all means, to mourn over our going after the gods of the nations round about us, to repent of our selfish, unchristlike spirit, and seek forgiveness of our all-merciful Father, that we have, to paraphrase Whittier's prayer, "taken for the all perfect love thou art some grim creation of our heart."

1. *For the Consideration of Friends*, The Peace Section, The American Friends Service Committee.

The Inner Light

2. Mimeographed *Report*, circulated privately by Marshall Taylor.
3. *Journal*, 8th ed., 1891, Vol. I, pp. 34, 35.
4. Cf. Edward Grubb, *Authority and the Light Within*, p. 84.
5. Burrough, *Works*, p. 439. Cf. also Fox, *Epistles*, Whitehead's Preface; and Howgill, *Some of the Mysteries of God's Kingdom Declared*, Sect. XI.
6. J. W. Rowntree, *Essays and Addresses*, p. 244-45.
7. *Life and Works of James Nayler*, p. 12.
8. *Life*, Chapt. IV. (*Friends Library*, Vol. II, p. 228.)
9. Cited in Russell, *History of Quakerism*, p. 506.
10. *Some Frutis of Solitude*, No. 519.
11. Barclay, *Apology*, Prop. XIII, Sec. xi.
12. The Preacher.
13. Bowden, *History of Friends in America*, Vol. I, pp. 91, 92.
14. *Memoirs of J. J. Gurney*, Vol. I, p. 22.
15. Romans 14:14-20.

A History of Sylvan School 1866-1960

BY

James Howard Hinshaw

JOSEPH MOORE, SUPERINTENDENT of Friends Schools in North Carolina Yearly Meeting from 1865 to 1868, first visited Cane Creek Meeting in 1865 to investigate the possibility of giving aid to schools under care of the Monthly Meeting. At that time there were four schools under the care of the Meeting: Oak Springs, Kemp School, Rocky River, and Cane Creek School.¹ The following are two reports made on the school which was being taught in the meeting house at Cane Creek:

1st mo. 16, 1865.

Went in a.m. to visit the school in Cane Creek meeting house which is as inconvenient [*sic*] as it could well be for a school. No kind of system of classification and pupils recite just any way . . . very seldom correctly.²

Mahlon Dixon was the teacher of this school. It had an average daily attendance of forty. The Baltimore Association did not give aid to the school at Cane Creek at this time, and it was not until January 1866 that Joseph Moore mentioned the school at Cane Creek again, when the following note was made in his journal:

9th mo. 19th, 1866.

Meet with portion of school committee. Find they have lumber nearly all in readiness. The work has been delayed owing to so many moving west, mostly to Kansas, and to the fact that no one starts in to work. They seem disposed to proceed with at once and hope to have a house ready in a month. Give them a conditional order for glass and nails.³

This reveals that the Baltimore Association had decided to aid the school at Cane Creek, providing the Monthly Meeting and people in the community would erect a building. In the eleventh

month, A. J. Tomlinson was sent by the Baltimore Association to Cane Creek to begin a school.⁴ Joseph Moore made the following notes in his journal:

11 mo. 19th, 1866.

Went to A. J. Tomlinson's school which opened this morning in the old meeting house, the school house being but just partly weather-boarded and roofed. School is making an orderly start with 17. Talked with them a while and journeyed on to Isham Cox's 6 miles.⁵

This marked the beginning of the school at Cane Creek which was later to be known as Sylvan Academy. Shortly after the opening of the school, the students and teachers moved into the new school house. In December of 1866 Julius Tomlinson came to Cane Creek to assist his brother in the new school. During the first month of operation the school grew until it had nearly eighty students.⁶ The school continued to grow; in 1867 Joseph Moore reported that the school had one hundred and thirty students.

The Baltimore Association continued to give aid to the school for two or three years. It furnished funds for operating the school, with the exception of paying the teachers, who were paid out of the tuition fees. When the Baltimore Association withdrew its support, Sylvan became a self-supported school.

Under the leadership of Allen J. Tomlinson the school grew and prospered. In its early years the school became an academy.⁷ Sylvan was for some years one of the largest institutions of its kind in the state. Pupils came from Chatham, Alamance, Guilford, Randolph, Moore, Wayne, and Wake Counties.⁸ Wesley Whitehead recalls that when he first entered Sylvan Academy as a student, there were only six other students that he knew.⁹ The school at Sylvan was administered according to the most modern methods of the late nineteenth century. From all evidence Sylvan was a grade A school,¹⁰ but this is not certain since there is not a complete list of the courses offered. Some of the books which were used were:

Lilliard's Reader

American Fifth Reader

McGuffey's Sixth Reader

Davie's Arithmetic

Robinson's Arithmetic and Algebra

Clark's English Grammar

Monteith's Georgraphy

Quaken Bath's History

Hart's Rhetoric

Pliny Chase's Latin

Arnold's Latin Grammar

*Blue Back Speller*¹¹

The school also placed strong emphasis upon foreign languages. The physical sciences and biology were taught at Sylvan. Field trips were taken in order that the student "could examine objects of Nature." The physical science course was a study of other planets, the earth, and our solar system. Sylvan also offered a course in Study of Flower Gardening. A small plot was set aside for each girl and a boy was assigned to help her in tending her plot. There was much rivalry to see who could produce the prettiest flower bed. The beds were cut in various geometrical figures and set with lilacs, snowballs, and other flowering shrubs.

Sylvan Academy prepared the student for teaching, the ministry, and other positions. Sylvan did prepare the student to some degree for higher education, but usually the student leaving Sylvan first entered some other preparatory school. Several of its students continued their schooling at New Garden Boarding School, which is now Guilford College. Sylvan was honored by having one of its outstanding students in the first graduating class of Guilford College in 1889. This student was Joseph Moore Dixon, who was later sent to the United States Senate by the state of Montana. When he completed his term in this office, he returned to Montana to become its governor. He later served in the United States Department of the Interior.

Sylvan was not just another school; its activities were numerous and in many respects it surpassed its successor, Sylvan High School. It had its weekly publication, *The Little Visitor*, which was circulated through the community and was sent to other Friends' Schools.¹² The paper was printed "as a means by which they [the

students] might improve in spelling, punctuation, and composition; and with a view to furnishing them with a selection of useful reading." It contained words of wisdom and guidance. It often told of field trips and other class activities. Frequently *The Little Visitor* makes mention of speakers who had visited the school, and refers to these lectures as being given to "cultivate the taste and stimulate the interest and energies of the pupils." *The Little Visitor* also adds to the picture of the school life at Sylvan by pointing out that it was very "Quakerly" in that all

. . . should be free in showing their point of view so that the school might grow spiritually to experience something of that fatness of soul which every man should seek to come in possession. The liberal soul shall become fat. Men were to be charitable in all purposes and in their own view; willing to receive from others and give their own point of view.¹³

The annual commencement program was one of the important activities of the school year. The program usually covered a period of two days, with speaking in the morning, recitations in the afternoon, and a musical program at night. Musical programs were not unusual, and it was partly through the efforts of Miss Eula Dixon, who had a deep appreciation for music, that music was introduced into the Sunday School and meetings for worship at Cane Creek. When music was first introduced to the meeting,¹⁴ it was used alone for Sunday School. After Sunday School, and before the beginning of the meeting for worship, the folding organ was carried out of the meeting room.

Francis T. King¹⁵ was a frequent visitor in Friends' schools in North Carolina, and it is most likely that he visited Sylvan Academy some time during its early years, although there has not been a record of such a visit preserved. A letter which was written by a Friend in Pennsylvania gives the following regarding Friends' schools in North Carolina:

Francis T. King has been here yesterday week; he was boasting of the Friends Schools in North Carolina. He said in the presence of students from Mass. [*sic*] and other states that the schools in North Carolina are as good as any in any of the New England or between States and much

superior to those in Pennsylvania and Maryland. Neglect of education was a great cause of the War. Surely they believe in finding new and better ways of Education, and that the old ways should be frowned upon.¹⁶

Although Sylvan was in one sense a boarding school, it did not furnish dormitories. At times some of the students would move into a vacant house and share the expenses of operating it. Some of the other students would board in private homes. For a number of years the old well-house at Jim Dixon's place was occupied by students. The expense of a boarding student was around one hundred dollars per year,¹⁷ but it cost the day student twelve dollars each semester. Given below is a list of the tuition fees, cost of courses, and room and board.

Tuition for Academical Department	\$10.50
Tuition for Primary Department	7.00
Latin, Greek, French and German	4.00 each
Board and Washing	10.00 per month

Some parents found it impossible to meet the expenses for sending their children to school. The War had left many without sufficient financial resources. The minutes of the Monthly Meeting show something of the nature of this problem. The Monthly Meeting in 1872 recorded the following:

2 mo 3, 1872 — The Committee on Education reported that they found thirty children whose parents could not pay their tuition and the committee suggested that the Monthly Meeting make provision for the payment of the tuition of such children. The matter was referred to the members present and to the next monthly meeting.

The next monthly meeting and the meetings for the seventh, ninth, and tenth months give the following minutes on the matter:

4 mo. 6, 1872. The Committee on Education in 2 month claimed the attention of this meeting. After deliberation the subject was referred to Committee on Education, to devise a plan of operation and produce it at the meeting.

7 mo. 6. 1872. The Education Committee, to who was referred the

matter of devising a plan of operation by which the Monthly Meeting might provide a means of aiding the poor children of its members in obtaining an Education, presented its ideas for a plan of operation.

The matter was then turned over to the Monthly Meeting to act upon, and the following aims were set forth by the Monthly Meeting:

1. To encourage education among [*sic*] children, because the existence of the Monthly Meeting depends much on Education.
2. This committee [Education] is to encourage the attendance of the children.
3. The Committee is to call for the support of the patrons.
4. All of this is to be the duty of the Education Committee who shall use their endeavors to procure teachers and secure the attendance of the children; and after bringing to bear all public funds due the school as well as funds from other sources as may be deemed advisable, [to make up] the deficiency for the tuition to be raised by appointment among all our members as may seem just and right.

9 mo. 3, 1872 — the plan which was presented at last Monthly Meeting, after due deliberation was accepted and is to go in effect immediately.¹⁸

These minutes point out at least two things: One, that the Monthly Meeting was greatly concerned for the education of its children, and, two, that Sylvan was meeting with difficulties which were stumbling blocks.

Although Sylvan Academy had been established by the Monthly Meeting, it remained completely under the control of the Monthly Meeting only five years. In eighth month of 1871 the school was re-organized and began operation under a Board of Trustees.¹⁹

Discipline was of great importance. The one rule that was impressed upon the minds of the older students was: "You are expected to conduct yourselves as ladies and gentlemen, and you will be so treated until you show by your conduct you are not worthy of such treatment." The school motto was, "We live in our deeds and not in our words."²⁰ At times students would disregard the high standard of conduct, and it was often that Thursday

meeting was the setting for infractions of the rule. As a part of the religious life at Sylvan, it was required that the students attend Cane Creek meeting for worship on Thursday. It was hoped that they might profit by these meetings, but some of the students did not seem to understand the value of silent meditation. Although students did at times misbehave in meeting, these meetings tended to be profitable to the students. Some later became active members of Cane Creek or other meetings of Friends. It also left those who were not members of the Society of Friends with an appreciation of the Friends' faith.

The two decades after 1882 were, without a doubt, the darkest years in the history of Sylvan. At times the school was completely out of operation. The minutes of the Monthly Meeting give little information about the problems confronting the school, but it must be remembered that in North Carolina academies were gradually disappearing, and the public high schools were taking over most of the secondary education. The surviving academies found it difficult to meet the competition of the growing high school movement. Other counties which had sent students to Sylvan were beginning to have schools of their own, and this cut down the enrollment at Sylvan. In addition the depression of the 1890's contributed to the downfall of education.

In sixth month 1884, a proposition was presented to the Education Committee and Board of Trustees by Mahlon Dixon, George Thompson, Nathan C. Stuart, J. Randolph Coble, James Thomas, Milo Dixon, and W. P. Stout in an effort to re-open the Academy. The next minute, in regard to Sylvan Academy, was recorded in fifth month 1885, and reads as follows:

I This indenture made this second day of May 1885 A.D., between Cane Creek Monthly Meeting of Friends of first part, Zeno H. Dixon and Mary Dixon of second part, witnesses that said Monthly Meeting of Friends doth hereby demise, lease and let go unto the said Zeno H. Dixon and Mary A. Dixon the house known as Sylvan Academy together with all appurtenances thereunto belonging, for a term of thirty years or for as long as they may want to lease it less than thirty years from eighth day of June 1885.

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II And the said Zeno H. Dixon and Mary A. Dixon agree to open foresaid Academy, during said term, a High School conducted in accordance with Scriptural principles; and to deliver up property to said Monthly Meeting of Friends in as good condition as when received, casualty from fire, tempest, and other unavoidable causes being expected.

III The said Monthly Meeting of Friends covenants that the said Zeno H. Dixon and Mary A. shall have quiet and peaceable possession during the said term, and that they will warrant and defend the title against the claims of all persons, as to the possession of the said premises the said term . . . provided however, if the said Zeno H. Dixon and Mary A. Dixon shall fail at any time to carry on the said school for a period of six consecutive months this agreement shall be null and void.

In witness of all this, the clerk of said Monthly Meeting of Friends on behalf of the said Monthly Meeting of Friends and said Zeno H. Dixon and Mary A. Dixon have hereunto set their hands and seal.

Dongan C. Cox clerk

Zeno H. and Mary A. Dixon²¹

It did not take Cane Creek Meeting long to realize that "all that glitters is not gold," because instead of the school's operating for thirty years under this plan, it operated only one year. In fifth month 1886, the lease for the school was returned to the Monthly Meeting.

For the next six years, no records of the school have been found, and from all evidence the school did not operate during this period. It is not until twelfth month 1891 that Sylvan Academy is again mentioned in the minutes of the Monthly Meeting. A part of the school building had been fixed up for a home for Abigail Pike, who was under the care of the Meeting, and her nurse Rena Buckner.

In seventh month 1892 W. Jasper Thompson was granted the privilege of opening a school at Sylvan. The McPherson Fund and Hinshaw Fund gave aid to this school.²²

The next reference to Sylvan Academy is made in the minutes of Western Quarterly Meeting. The following report was made in Western Quarterly Meeting in 1897:

11 mo. 13, 1897

Report of the Education Committee. The Education Committee met at Cane Creek Meeting and organized with Samuel Woody as chairman and H. W. Dixon as Secretary.

The first step was taken toward opening a Quarterly Meeting school. Some members urged upon the representatives the fairness and justice and the need of the Quarterly Meeting's part of the Tripp Fund.

Since Yearly Meeting the committee has met and decided to open a school at once at Sylvan Academy but owing to the lateness of the time, the want of a suitable teacher and condition of the school building it was afterwards decided to postpone the opening till the first of the next year which would give many students the opportunity to attend the public schools in their area.²³

The Quarterly Meeting school was opened in January 1898. Jasper Thompson taught this school until 1900. It was supported by the Tripp Fund of the Yearly Meeting.²⁴ In 1900 the school was moved to Centre Monthly Meeting.²⁵ Two years later (1903) the building was leased to Alamance County for a period of ten years, and during this period the school really got on its feet and began to grow. In 1908 it became necessary to add more room to the building to take care of the increasing number of students. During the year 1908-1909 the high school was added, with Miles Reece, a Friends' minister, as the first principal. The first graduating class was in 1910 and it consisted of two girls and one boy. From 1910 to 1913 the school continued to increase in numbers, and it became apparent that the facilities of the old academy were inadequate. When the ten years' lease was up, the Monthly Meeting decided that it was not best to lease the building to the county again. With this action the Monthly Meeting severed its connection with Sylvan. The patrons of the school and the local board decided to erect a new building at the present site. In 1911-1912 the Sylvan School District was formed. This district included Sylvan School, Gravel Hill School, and Lee Point School. All three of these schools were consolidated and organized in Sylvan High School and Graded School. Although Cane Creek Meeting ceased to have authority in operating Sylvan School, it has never ceased to give its support to the school.

When the Monthly Meeting was no longer willing to lease the old Sylvan Academy building to the county, it became necessary for the local patrons and the school board to erect a new school building. In the school year, 1911-1912, the new Sylvan School District was organized. At that time Gravel Hill and Lee Point were combined with Sylvan to make up the Sylvan School District.²⁶ Although Pleasant Hill and Oak Dale Schools were brought in later, the students from those areas desiring a high school education began to come to Sylvan in 1913.²⁷ With a larger group of students than there had been at old Sylvan, it was not an easy task to erect a building large enough to care for the new student body.

When Jane Allen Hammer, a former Sylvan student and a Friend, heard of the effort to reorganize Sylvan School and the necessity of erecting a new building, she became very much interested in the project. Jane Hammer had married a well-to-do gentleman by the name of Isaac Hammer and they were making their home in Kansas. Although she was unable to return to her native home, it was her request that a part of their estate be given to Sylvan School.

After her death, Isaac Hammer came to Snow Camp community and deeded to Sylvan School six hundred and forty acres of land valued at thirty thousand dollars, or near that amount, which was to be used as an endowment fund. He required the patrons to erect a new building and placed in their hands one thousand dollars with which to begin the building. He also agreed to pay the school two hundred dollars per year for a period of five years.²⁸ To administer these funds he appointed a Board of Trustees consisting of the following persons: Nathan C. Stuart, Lydia Allen Stuart, William P. Stout, Junius A. Hornaday, and Jeremiah S. Cox. It was agreed by the Board of Trustees that the board as a body was to choose and elect their own successors by a majority vote.²⁹ Until September 1928, when the Board of Trustees took charge of the endowment, the major job of the Board of Trustees was to look after the spending of the first thousand dollars which Hammer gave in 1913.³⁰

The Hammer endowment could be used not only for the support of the school, but also for scholarships when some deserving student found himself lacking finances with which to continue his higher education. The land is still held by and administered under the direction of the Hammer Board of Trustees. Any profit from the land is turned over to the Board to use as they may see fit. It is a part of the duties of the Trustees to look after the general welfare of the estate and handle all expenses. The greater part of the money is used for purchasing materials and equipment which the state does not provide for the school. If and when Sylvan should cease to function as a school, the Hammer Endowment Fund will be turned over to Guilford College. It is mainly through the Hammer Endowment that Friends have continued to have an interest in the school.³¹

Although Isaac and Jane Hammer made a large contribution to the school, there were others who gave much of their time and means to make the new school a success. With the first gift from the Hammers to get things under way, a tract of land containing about sixty acres was purchased from Cicero Dixon as a site for the school.³² When the new building was under construction, men from the community contributed their labor whenever it was needed. They helped clear the school grounds, dig the basement, waited on brick masons, or worked as carpenters. While the building was being constructed, others were out in the community and surrounding areas creating interest and soliciting support for the school whenever the opportunity presented itself. To help the building, the citizens of the community voted to levy a special tax in the Sylvan District.³³ There were a number of outstanding leaders who took an active part in the school work. Eula Dixon, John C. Griffin (chairman of the school board), Nathan Stuart, Lydia Stuart, and William P. Stout are among those early leaders who will continue to stand out in this period of the history of Sylvan.

During the summer of 1913 the building was completed; it consisted of a large auditorium, a music room, and five class-

rooms. The people of the Sylvan District were proud of the school and rightly so. It was the first public high school in the southern part of Alamance County.

While plans were being made for a reunion to be held August 22-23, 1913, letters poured in from different parts of the United States from former students and friends of Sylvan school, wishing the school prosperity. These letters expressed the loyalty of former Sylvan students. Many of the letters related memories of school days at Sylvan as well as of leaders of the school and community in its early days.

Hundreds of people came to join in the two-day celebration, and observed "the erecting of another milestone in the history of Sylvan." Although some of the records of that event have been misplaced, we do have the address of welcome and part of the commemoration address. The dedication address was given by Finley Tomlinson, who had taught at Sylvan Academy from 1868 to 1870. He related to his audience many of what he considered to be the outstanding characteristics of Sylvan Academy, and expressed his appreciation for the school. The last paragraph of his talk is typical of the spirit of the occasion.

I hope Sylvan shall stand like a monument with a search light on top of it, warning youth of the danger of the enemy, ignorance. Ignorance breeds its diseases and crimes of all kinds. It is the worst enemy to any community and to any human race that mankind, society, and government have to contend with. May she ever throw off the shackles of ignorance and make the mind and body free and healthy.³⁴

The old students who attended the dedication and reunion in 1913 organized an Alumni Association, which remained active until around 1921.³⁵

There were many persons who were active in the school work at Sylvan, but the outstanding leadership of Eula Dixon merits special attention. She was a member of Cane Creek Meeting, and a very active educational leader in her community. Miss Dixon, better known to her friends as "Miss Eula," continually worked among the parents and patrons endeavoring to get their support

for the school. She took the annual census of the eligible school children in the Sylvan district. It has been said that she knew every family in the district, the number of children, their ages, and what ability they had for doing school work. Mrs. Herbert Coble, the former Hazel McAdams, who taught music at Sylvan in 1913, gave the following account of the work of Eula Dixon:

One of the sweetest memories I have of Miss Eula is the "tour we made each day for nearly a week prior to my school opening. Mile on mile we traveled all through the community to "show" my music ability, thereby assuring the people whether or not I would make a good piano teacher. Sometimes I had a piano to "perform" on but more often it was an old-fashioned organ. I loved the people and it was a joy to visit in their homes. During these rides over the country, Miss Eula and I not only became acquainted but we became real friends. Often she said to me, "You act as if you enjoy these trips," and I told her that I did.³⁶

Eula Dixon was concerned not only for the students at Sylvan High School, but also for the students who graduated from Sylvan and had gone on to college. After her death a scholarship was established at Guilford College in honor and in memory of her work as a leader in the Society of Friends and in promoting school work in her community and state. This scholarship is open to Sylvan graduates only. The scholarship is awarded to the senior who has the highest scholastic average, and who is planning to attend Guilford. She had attended college herself and desired to see others attain a better education. "Miss Eula" was the first girl to enroll in the North Carolina Agriculture and Engineering College, now North Carolina State College. She was a great worker in both the field of education and that of religion. The two seemed to belong together in her way of thinking, and she was deeply devoted to both.

Sylvan School made a good start in 1913, and it was to be, for almost a decade, the leading school in southern Alamance County. It was known throughout the county and in the surrounding counties. Several of the students enrolled at Sylvan for the first few years came from Chatham County and a few from other counties.

The list of teachers shows that the teachers at Sylvan changed rather rapidly for the first decade. In 1921 the fourth year of high school was added; four years later the high school was accredited by the state. As the years passed and more territory was brought into the Sylvan District,³⁷ the school found it necessary to add more to the school plant. In 1927 a new building was erected. It consisted of six classrooms, two dressing rooms, a large auditorium, and a furnace room, as well as two rest rooms. This addition was made none too soon, for in the year 1928–1929 Oak Wood School was transferred to Sylvan. Three years later Pleasant Hill, along with parts of Oak Dale and Bethel were joined to Sylvan District.³⁸ From 1931 to 1935 Sylvan had the largest enrollment that the school had ever had in its history. Some of the primary grades had two teachers, and the enrollment of the school was nearly five hundred students. By 1937 the enrollment had fallen to around three hundred and it remained near that number for many years.³⁹ After 1935 the school settled down for a quiet period so far as growth was concerned. It was hit hard during the Second World War. During that period the school was short of teachers, which caused the remaining teachers to be overworked. In some instances they were teaching out of their field. Not only was there a shortage of teachers, but several of the boys were either drafted or joined the Armed Forces; and some who did not enter military service went to public work.

After the war years (1941–1945) the school gradually began to recover. Teachers became more plentiful and the student enrollment became more steady. In 1950 the student council was organized. This body proved to be of great importance in helping the school administration. Its work was mainly with organizing more student activities and taking care of school problems, as well as sponsoring a school improvement program for the improvement of the school life and facilities. In 1955 Harold Shelley, President of the Sylvan Student Council, was nominated and elected to the office of President of the Alamance County Student Council Association.

The last major building program was launched by the school in 1954. At this time a new gymnasium and cafeteria were erected.

The state erected the buildings and they were furnished out of the Allen Hammer Fund and by gifts from several of the graduates.

In 1960 Sylvan High School graduated its last senior class. That fall, the high school was consolidated with Southern Alamance High School. At the present time the school operates classes for kindergarten and grades one through five. An excellent pictorial history of the school was published by residents of the school community in 1980. It is entitled *Sylvanian: One Hundred Years to Remember . . . ; A History of Sylvan School, 1866-1980*.

One of the things that made Sylvan an outstanding school was sports. Early in the history of the school sports played an important role. Thomas F. McVey, who had attended New Garden Boarding School in the year of 1877-1878,⁴⁰ organized one of the first baseball teams at Sylvan in either 1878 or 1879.⁴¹

In the spring of 1914 the baseball team won the state championship in spite of many obstacles. There were two championship games; one for the western part of the state and the second one, for the state championship. Both of these were scheduled for the same day. In the morning Sylvan defeated Gastonia for the western crown, and that afternoon they defeated Rocky Mount for the state championship.

In 1915 Sylvan defeated Cherryville High School for the right to compete for the State Cup. Again Sylvan journeyed to Chapel Hill for the championship play-offs. This time they defeated Raleigh High School and were awarded the State Cup.⁴²

*Teams*⁴³

Spring of 1914

Coach, Blake Isley
Manager, Earl Williams
Randolph Buckner
Grady Clark
Oliver Clark
French Duncan
Lewis Fogleman
Harry Johnson

Spring of 1915

Coach, Lawrence L. Lohr
Manager, Earl Williams
Grady Buckner
Randolph Buckner
Grady Clark
Oliver Clark
French Duncan
Lewis Fogleman

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Hurley Lasley
Tom Murchison
Algie I. Newlin
Eugene Spoon
Lonnie Teague

Allen Graham
Harry L. Johnson
Algie I. Newlin
Harry Stout

Although Sylvan had many outstanding baseball teams, these two have remained at the head of the list for over two decades. The 1916 team went to the semifinals but was turned back by Greensboro High School.⁴⁴

Sylvan also won distinction as a leader in the field of basketball in Alamance County. When this sport was first introduced at Sylvan it was played by girls on an outdoor court. The basketball suits of those days were quite different from what is used today. The girls wore bloomers which reached to their knees and long cotton stockings. They wore a blouse, and in some cases wore ties with the blouse. When the addition was made to the building in 1927, the auditorium was constructed for a twofold purpose, to serve as an assembly room and to be used as a gymnasium. Sylvan was the first rural school in Alamance County to have a gymnasium.⁴⁵ In 1928–1929 the girls' basketball team either won or tied all the games they played.⁴⁶

From 1944 to 1956 the school set one of the outstanding records in basketball in Alamance County. The girls won the Alamance County championship four times between 1948 and 1956, winning in 1948–1949, 1952–1953, 1953–1954 and in 1955–1956.⁴⁷

Although the boys' team never won the county championship officially, the teams of 1946–1947, 1947–1948, and 1948–1949 were undefeated and were recognized as the unofficial county champions.⁴⁸

Sylvan had a number of outstanding basketball players. Given here is a list of boys and girls who were recognized by the county as outstanding players from 1945 to 1956:

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Girls

Adele Bowman

Peggy Ellington

Anne Fox (State All-Star team one year)

Katrine Frye (State All-Star team three years)

Onita Frye

Anne Dare Hester

Anne Merle Isley

Sarah Shoffner

Gerta Lou Wright

Betty Jean Zachary

Boys

Billy Fogleman

Cecil Fogleman

Jesse Carl Fogleman

Tommy Stout (State All-Star Team one year)

Buddy Way

Albert Way⁴⁹

Although sports were a major portion of the student activities, Sylvan had a number of other outstanding student activities. In the year 1911-1912, before the school was moved to its final site, a literary society was organized.⁵⁰ During the same year a representative was sent to Elon College to the declaimer contest. This literary society continued to be active until 1933. In its early years this organization was active, and in a few instances representatives were sent to take part in state contests. During two successive years, 1914 and 1915, the debating teams won the right to participate in the state inter-scholastic contests at Chapel Hill.

One of the outstanding student activities was the Glee Club. Music was one of the features that was of great importance when the new school opened in 1913. The Glee Club reached the peak of its activities during the years from 1950 to 1955 under the direction of Fred Easter. During that period the group made a number of appearances in the Piedmont section of North Carolina.

Although the 4-H Club is sponsored by the State Department

of Agriculture and the county, Sylvan School always worked with them in carrying out the work of the organization. A good many of the teachers were active supporters of the 4-H Club work, and gave freely of their time. In 1927 the Sylvan 4-H Club had its first calf show. For many years this was an annual event, but was discontinued in the early 1940's.

The first teacherage was erected at Sylvan in 1921. This building was erected by the people in the community. In order to raise the money the ladies made quilts for sale, and they sponsored suppers. It was a frame structure, and provided space for some students as well as for teachers. This building was destroyed by fire in 1930. In 1933 a Sylvan graduate gave enough money to replace the building. At that time a fourteen-room structure was erected.

The first cafeteria was built at Sylvan in 1938. The Hammer endowment helped furnish the equipment for this cafeteria. In 1954 it was replaced by a new structure, which was also furnished by the Hammer Endowment. From its beginning the cafeteria was operated by Mrs. Charlie Stout.⁵¹

Sylvan School was among the first schools in the state to furnish transportation for students. In 1913 a vehicle, commonly called the "Kid Wagon," was purchased to transport children to school. This "Kid Wagon" was driven by George Beal, and it hauled children from the Rock Creek community. It was a two-seated vehicle, with the seats on the sides with canvas curtains which could be let down over the sides in case of rain. This "Kid Wagon" was purchased mainly through the efforts of Eula Dixon.⁵²

Sylvan School existed for almost a century. During these years many students passed through the doors of the school. During the period from 1903 to 1960 there have been many outstanding individuals who were graduated from Sylvan. Among these were ministers, many school teachers, doctors, lawyers, and other professional leaders. Others have followed the tradition of their fathers as farmers, while others have worked in local factories. Sylvan School was the greatest school in North Carolina, but it had and continues to have a marked influence on society.

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1. Joseph Moore, "Journal of the Superintendent of Friends Schools in North Carolina from 1865 to 1868" (unpublished manuscript in the Guilford College Friends Historical Collection, Greensboro, North Carolina), 1st mo. 16, 1865.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, 9th mo. 19th 1866.

4. *Ibid.*, 11th mo. 17, 1866.

5. *Ibid.*, 11th mo. 19, 1866.

6. *Ibid.*, 12th mo. 12th, 1877. "Visited A. J. Tomlinson's school . . . about 80 pupils in very good order."

7. *Ibid.*, 6th mo. 19th, 1868. "Attended examination day at Sylvan Academy." This is the first time he has reference to Sylvan School as an Academy.

8. Stuart Lyndon, "History of Sylvan School" (unpublished sketch in possession of the author at Snow Camp, N. C.), p. 3. This list of counties is given in Lyndon Stuart's history and has been constructed by him from his material. Although it seems at first somewhat ambiguous, when one discovers that academies were not too plentiful at the close of the War and for a few years afterwards, then it seems very reasonable that students at Sylvan did come from a large area.

9. Wesley Whitehead, personal interview, November 6, 1954. Mr. Whitehead is the oldest living person who attended Sylvan Academy. He was enrolled in 1878-1879.

10. Although the schools were not divided into grades, the Baltimore Association did rate them according to the type of course they offered, and each school was required to offer certain courses, according to its rating. The list of courses may be found in the *First Annual Report of the Baltimore Association* by Moore and King.

11. Joseph Dixon, letter to Zora Klain, December 27, 1923. Letter in possession of Lyndon Stuart, Snow Camp, N. C.

12. *The Little Visitor*, a weekly publication of Sylvan Academy, 1 mo. 2, 1868. Publications at present are in possession of Mrs. Anne Lois Dixon, Snow Camp, N. C.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

14. The exact date is not known, but was probably around 1905-1911.

15. Francis L. King was the first president of the Baltimore Association.

16. *The Little Visitor*, ? mo. 1868, p. 2.

17. This is assuming that school was conducted about eight months per year. The schools started usually around the middle of September and ran until nearly mid-May. The length of the term depended a great deal on the party operating the school.

18. "Minutes of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting," Vol. IV, 1870-1889. Pages for following minutes: 2 mo. 3, 1872, p. 9; 4 mo. 6, 1872, p. 11; 7 mo. 6, 1872, pp. 13, 14; 9 mo. 3, 1872, p. 14.

19. *Ibid.*, 8th month, 1871. This system of operation was used until around 1880, and the school again came under control of Monthly Meeting.

20. Stuart, "History of Sylvan School," p. 6.

21. "Minutes of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting," Vol. IV, 1870-1889. 5 mo.

A History of Sylvan School

2nd. 1885.

22. The Eli McPherson Fund belonged to Cane Creek Meeting. (For further reference on McPherson Fund, see "Cane Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes," Vol. IV, p. 132.) The Hinshaw Fund was a Quarterly Meeting fund which had been established by Rebecca Hinshaw. It was used for schools and to pay expenses of traveling ministers. *Western Quarterly Meeting Minutes*, p. 648.

23. "Minutes of Western Quarterly Meeting," 11 mo. 13, 1897.

24. *Ibid.*, 2 mo. 12, 1898.

25. *Ibid.*, 7 mo. 28, 1898.

26. Mr. and Mrs. Alvah A. Hinshaw, personal interview, March 19, 1956. Wilma Griffin, personal interview, March 20, 1956. At the time Lee Point was brought into the Sylvan School District, the school at Lee Point had been closed and students were being sent to Gravel Hill. The school board of the Lee Point School was still organized, and took a part in helping set up the Sylvan District.

27. There were high school students from those areas prior to that time, but in 1913 there were several more who started attending Sylvan High School.

28. The endowment fund did not become available for the school's use until his death in September, 1928.

29. Stuart, "History of Sylvan School," p. 8.

30. "Minutes of Hammer Board of Trustees," September 15, 1928. These minutes are in the possession of Lyndon Stuart, Snow Camp, North Carolina.

31. Lyndon Stuart, personal interview, July 30, 1955.

32. This land lies about one-half mile southeast of the Cane Creek Meeting House, and the school buildings have been built on what was called Flint Hill. Looking from the front of the Meeting House, the school is almost directly across Cane Creek Valley from the Meeting House.

33. Wilma Griffin, personal interview, March 20, 1956. She has in her possession some of the hand-bills which were distributed to the people when they were voting on the tax issue.

34. Typed copy of the address in the possession of the writer.

35. Wilma Griffin, personal interview. Miss Griffin was secretary of the Alumni Association until it ceased to function; the Association was never formally disbanded.

36. Julian Hughes, "Eula Dixon Placed Her Mark of Service on this Area," *Burlington Daily Times News*, September 2, 1954, Section C, p. 1.

37. The consolidation of other schools into the Sylvan District was a gradual process. For instance, a part of Flynt Ridge School was brought into the District in 1928, but the rest of the school was not brought in until 1932.

38. Wilma Griffin, personal interview, March 20, 1956. She is recognized as an authority here, because she was one of the teachers at Bethel School when it was transferred to Sylvan. At the time it was moved to Sylvan, the county also assigned her to Sylvan School.

39. Material taken from school records at County Superintendent's Office at Graham, N. C., March 27, 1956.

40. *Alumni Directory of Guilford College, Guilford College Bulletin*, Vol. XXX

(February 1937), No. 2.

41. Wesley Whitehead, personal interview, November 6, 1954. Mr. Whitehead was a student at Sylvan when this team was organized.

42. Algie I. Newlin, personal interview, April 24, 1956.

43. This list has been worked up by Algie I. Newlin, who was a member of the team both years, and is partly based on a picture of the 1915 championship team.

44. Algie I. Newlin, personal interview, April 24, 1956.

45. Sarah H. Primm, personal interview, March 20, 1956. She was a member of the basketball team in 1928-1929. From 1929 until approximately 1944 it is impossible to trace the development and activities of sports at Sylvan except through hearsay, due to the fact that all of the records, with the exception of a few pictures, have been destroyed.

46. *Ibid.*

47. This list has been based on trophies and the records of A. M. Primm (including the old record books).

48. *Ibid.*

49. These two lists have been made up from the old score books, newspaper clippings, and by students who played on the teams. The list may not be complete, due to the loss of records.

50. J. Y. Joyner, *Biennial Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Carolina*, "Extracts from Principals' Reports," 1911-1912, p. 13.

51. Lyndon Stuart, personal interview, April 16, 1956.

52. Algie I. Newlin (a student at Sylvan 1913-1916), personal interview, April 10, 1956. Also Lyndon Stuart, personal interview, April 17, 1956.

Report of the Curator of the Friends Historical Collection 1980–1981

BY

Damon D. Hickey

THE FRIENDS Historical Collection of Guilford College, formerly called the Quaker Collection and the Quaker Room, serves educational needs of Guilford College students and provides a focal point for the understanding of Guilford's Quaker heritage. It preserves the written record of Friends in the American Southeast and much of the literature of Friends worldwide. It assists in the education of Southeastern Friends in their own history and traditions. It solicits, collects, and preserves the papers of individuals and organizations associated with Friends and with the college. It encourages original research and writing. It assists individuals in researching family histories in Quaker sources.

Development

During 1980–81 the name of the collection was changed to the Friends Historical Collection in order to reflect with greater dignity and accuracy the nature of the collection. A new logo and new public relations materials have been developed. A policy statement for researchers and a revision of the fee structure for non-college and non-Friends use of the collection was implemented. A program statement looking toward an expansion of the collection facilities in a projected addition to the college library building was submitted to the Library Director. Objectives for the year were developed and largely met. Long range planning with other members of the library staff was begun. A new

budgeting system designed to set off the collection within the college library budget was begun. Groundwork was laid for establishing a Southeastern advisory committee.

More than 17,000 dollars were raised by the Friends of the Guilford College Library to establish an endowment for the Clyde and Ernestine Milner Collection for International Quaker Studies. After another year of contributions this endowment will allow strong development of the collection in an area of relative weakness. A tea for friends of the Milners held in the collection on Alumni Day filled facilities to overflowing for two hours.

The curator of the collection has served on two college committees concerned with Quaker programming: the Friends Center Coordinating Committee and the Quaker Programs Committee. He has represented to these committees the availability of the collection and its staff to be part of the college's Quaker programs.

Outreach

Opportunities have been sought for the collection to reach out to the college and wider Friends community. Ways have been opened through the Friends Center Coordinating Committee, the college's Development Office, both North Carolina Yearly Meetings, individual monthly meetings, and the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. The curator has traveled and spoken to college and Friends gatherings at First Friends Meeting of Greensboro, Eastern Quarterly Meeting (including Somerton and Piney Woods Meetings), the quadrennial Gathering of Conservative Friends, Western Quarterly Meeting, the Randolph County Historical Society, and White Plains Friends Meeting. Both the Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records of North Carolina Yearly Meeting and the directors of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society authorized the curator of the collection to travel and to speak on their behalf among Friends. The Historical Society also approved travel funds for this purpose.

Groups from New Garden Friends Meeting, Randleman Friends Meeting, Eastern Quarterly Meeting, North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative), and New Garden Friends School have visited the collection for talks and tours. A workshop on research in Quaker family history, jointly sponsored with the North Carolina Friends Historical Society and led by Willard Heiss, was well attended and received. A workshop was provided for the museum training class at North Carolina A & T State University. With the able assistance of Cecil Haworth a group of Friends from North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) was led on a tour of historic Quaker sites in the area. The national Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists accepted an invitation to hold its next biennial conference at Guilford in the summer of 1982. During the spring bicentennial commemoration of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse the collection assisted New Garden Friends School in preparing literature and organizing an exhibition on Quaker care of the wounded and the Friends peace testimony.

Relations with North Carolina Yearly Meeting were strengthened in several respects. The curator met quarterly as a member ex officio of the Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records, and assisted the committee in revising its guidelines and clarifying its relationship with the collection. A substantial increase in funding by the yearly meeting for the collection staff was approved. Plans were made for intensive use of library facilities during the 1981 sessions of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, including display of the art exhibit, housing meetings of Ministry and Counsel, presentation of a report on the collection by the curator, and presentation of an early minute-book by the North Carolina State Historical Commission.

Education

The staff worked again this year with the college Quakerism class, as well as with students in other college courses. A history major undertook during the fall semester an independent study

project on Quaker costume. He organized, labelled, and recorded all the clothes in the collection, carried on research in styles of Quaker dress, put together an exhibit with manikins, and organized a reception for students and faculty to describe his work. Also in the fall the curator described the history of the college to new members of the faculty as a part of their orientation. An open house for all students was held early in the semester. During the same semester the college's Young Friends organization held a weekly, evening Bible study and meeting for worship in the collection.

Research

College faculty members, graduate students from other institutions, post-graduate scholars, local historians, historians of Friends meetings, and family historians used the collection during the year. Research topics included the Quakers and Methodists, the development of the pastoral system among Southern Friends, the folklore of the Cane Creek Valley, Kathleen Lonsdale (Quaker scientist), American Quaker missionary efforts in China, the Baltimore Association of Friends, Quaker reactions to the internment of American Japanese and to the nuclear bombing of Japan in World War II, Friends' departure from South Carolina, seventeenth-century social life in the Albemarle region, Sarah Smiley (a Friend from Maine who helped establish Bible schools and schools for Freedmen in North Carolina after the Civil War), Quakers and the Orient, Gurney Binford's missionary work in Japan, the history of Guilford College from 1935 through 1980, historical cartography of North Carolina piedmont counties in the eighteenth century, recent history of Guilford College athletics, and George Mendenhall of Jamestown, North Carolina. A newspaper and a television station reviewed the history of the "underground railroad" in North Carolina. The television station subsequently telecast a half-hour program taped largely in the collection. The histories of several Friends meetings were researched as

part of a project sponsored by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. The society also sponsored production of a slide/tape show on Southern Friends, the society, and the collection, much of which was produced in the collection. The records of Neuse Monthly Meeting were edited. Staff members edited and wrote book reviews for *The Southern Friend*. They also conducted research in Quaker records for Friends meetings and in the college archives for faculty and administration. Graduate students in library science interviewed the staff on the organization of special collections and the reference services of a special collection.

Acquisitions

Among the many acquisitions of the year several are especially outstanding. The North Carolina State Historical Commission voted to transfer to the collection the earliest volume of the minutes of Symonds Creek Monthly Meeting, a treasure long housed in the State Archives. Negotiations were undertaken to obtain microfilm copies of the records of Virginia meetings from the Maryland Hall of Records. Early minute books of Conservative Friends Meetings were donated and laminated. Other early minute books were also laminated. The newly published catalogs of the comprehensive Friends Historical Library (including the Peace Collection) of Swarthmore were ordered. The second microfilm set of Quaker missionary correspondence was ordered from Friends United Meeting. Six pieces of furniture from the Hobbs and Mendenhall families were transferred from the college president's home to the collection by outgoing President Grimsley Hobbs. A new microfilm reader and reader-printer were acquired. New lighting for the reading room was donated. A mystery item also surfaced: a bronze plaque by Austrian Hans Schwathe commemorating Friends relief work in Vienna, 1920-21. It was stored in the college maintenance shop for approximately a decade, and no one seems to know how it came to the college. It was apparently made for an exhibit on the Friends relief held at

the Vienna *Künstlerhaus* in June of 1921. Another item of interest, the original lockplate and key from the door of old Founders Hall, was loaned by Luther Isley, and the collection is currently negotiating for its permanent acquisition.

The year's major acquisition was the papers and library of genealogist William Perry Johnson. An *inter vivos* trust gift, it consists of twenty-five four-drawer filing cabinets full of folders by family name (largely Quaker), plus a substantial number of published books. Following Johnson's death these materials were brought to the college where they are now in storage awaiting an addition to the library building (and, hence, to the collection space) to house them. It is likely that, once these materials are available to family historians, their visits and letters to the collection will increase over their already high level. The materials themselves will require considerable work to make them usable, and new cabinets will be required to replace the decrepit ones in which they were stored.

Staff and Staff Development

The year began with two staff changes. Damon Hickey replaced Treva Mathis upon her retirement as curator, while continuing to be responsible for general library public services. Carole Treadway, having served part time for over a decade, was employed full time. During the year, she completed her work for a master's degree in library science. Beginning 1981-82 her position will be upgraded to a full-time, professional level, with the title "Quaker Bibliographer." North Carolina Yearly Meeting has agreed to continue to fund at this new level half of her salary. Damon Hickey continued his course work toward a graduate degree in history. He attended the Friends Conference on Higher Education, the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists, and "The World of William Penn: A Conference in Anglo-American History." He participated in a workshop on grantsmanship. He was also accepted for participation in the 1981 summer

Institute on Southern Material Culture sponsored by the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts.

The staff was assisted by several capable student staff members: Ruth Marie Branson, Alice Hampton, and Roslyn Waters. In the spring the staff also began a program to train volunteer researchers to answer genealogical correspondence on a fee basis, thereby freeing the regular staff for other tasks.

Looking Ahead

The year 1980–1981 has been a continuation and a beginning of many activities. In the year to come greater emphasis will be placed on long-range planning, grant proposal writing, outreach, finding new ways to involve faculty and students in using the collection for teaching and learning, public relations, and developing a Southeastern regional advisory support group.

Statistics

Acquisitions and Cataloging

New monographs	61	(including 10 requiring original cataloging)
Reclassified monographs	413	(including 183 requiring original cataloging)
Audio-visual materials	2	
Meeting documents	24	record groups
Manuscript items or collections	18	
Costumes	20	
Artifacts	16	
Items added to vertical file	857	
Serials — new titles	3	

Users

Visitors	638
Groups	20

The Southern Friend

Genealogists	275
Guilford College Faculty and Staff	151
Scholars and other researchers from outside Guilford	106
Guilford students	91
Students from other institutions	52

Correspondence

Preliminary letters	48
Genealogy	112
General information	60
Requests for copies	20
Acknowledgements	27
Publication orders	39
Historical research	2

Gifts to the Friends Historical Collection
1980-1981

Allen, Beulah O.

Allen House and Some of its Allens, compiled by Beulah Allen

Allred, Mary Alice Davis. *See* Pugh, Emily Davis.

Anscombe, Viola

Francis Anscombe's M.A. thesis (1929) entitled "Friends' Contribution to the Reconstruction of the Southern States" (photocopy)

Beeson, Hansel C., Jr.

William Hockett's black coat and vest, black felt Quaker style hat, 2 pairs eyeglasses. Ohio Yearly Meeting *Discipline*, 1819.

Beeson, Ina Fields *See* Horney, Audrey

Bisbee, Dr. Henry

One issue of *The Burlington (N. J.) Story*, Vol. 10, no. 2.

Brown, Dorothy

A collection of documents from several Northampton County,

Friends Historical Collection Report

N. C. families, 1730–1895. (39 items)

Bundy, Dr. V. Mayo

Second edition of supplement to *Meet Our Ancestors*; a gift of money.

Chanda, Lois

A gift of money.

Coltrane, Margaret Fields *See* Horney, Audrey

Craven, Duval

Additions to the Craven Family papers; *A Guide to Moore County, N. C. Cemeteries; 1860 Census, Randolph County, N. C.; Randolph County Marriages through 1820*; additions to the papers of Greensboro Monthly Meeting.

Crownfield, Frederic

Two boxes color slides showing 1964 Guilford College Library addition construction.

Crutchfield, Frank and Ethel

Genealogies of the Crutchfield, Hadley and Watkins families

Dickson, Mrs. Allan

William Gregg: Quaker Immigrant and His Descendants, by John William Gregg, 1980.

Ertel, Margaret Peele Parker. *See* Parker, Elizabeth Graham

Evans, Nancy

Cyrus P. Mendenhall's Masonic apron, ca. 1850.

Fields, Atha *See* Horney, Audrey

Guilford College Maintenance Department

Bronze plaque commemorating Friends relief efforts, Vienna, 1920–21. Hans Schwathe, sculptor.

Floyd, Eleanor Blair

Nine Quaker books including Rufus Jones' *Finding the Trail of Life*, biographies of George Fox and Margaret Fell, and Elizabeth Janet Gray's *The Contributions of the Quakers* among others.

Gaines, Mrs. Robert W.

Seven color photographs of the Bush River, Cane Creek (S. C.) and Wrightsborough Meeting cemeteries; pamphlet entitled *The Story of Wrightsboro*.

Gersuny, Carl

Reprint of Gersuny's article entitled "Uphill Battle: Lucius F. C. Garvin's Crusade for Political Reform," from *Rhode Island History*, May, 1980.

Goodson, Mark

File folder of materials on the Celo community, Burnsville, N. C.; copy of Goodson's paper entitled "Report on Celo Community" prepared for Quakerism class, Fall 1980.

Greenleaf, Sue

Photocopies of entries for the family of Jacob and Ruth Vestal Newlin from a family Bible originally owned by Jacob Newlin.

Heiss, Willard

John Quigg, Jr. (1779-1814), compiled by Sylvia C. Fuson Ferguson, 1977; *Ancestral Record of Dillon, Hodgson, . . .* compiled by Isiah Dillon; *Bacon's Adventure* by Herbert Marion Bacon, 1948; *Obituary Notices in the Christian Worker: A Quaker Periodical, 1871-1894*, compiled by Jane R. Heiss.

Helms, Mrs. W. R.

The Original and Present State of Man, Briefly Considered . . . by Joseph Phipps, 1783.

Huess, John and Ione

Two genealogies: *Weisner-Weesner . . .* by John Turner Weisner, 1974, and *Dr. Robert and Elizabeth Ellyson* by L. Frank Bedell, 1969; photocopies of the estate of Joseph Henley, 1795 and three Henley wills and estate appraisals; Hand copied Henley entries in Quaker records of Indiana.

Hickey, Damon

Copy of his paper "William Penn and his Biographers," Fall, 1978; Copy of his paper on George C. Mendenhall, Fall 1980; two books: *William Penn's Legacy* by Alan Tully and *The Power of the People* by Robert Cooney and Helen Michalowski.

Hill, Louise

Manuscript autobiography of Lewis McFarland, Superintendent of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1915-ca. 1935.

Hinshaw, Calvin

Two papers by Howard B. Yow; "The Crack in the Liberty

Bell” and “The Liberty Bell.”

Hinshaw, Mary Edith and Seth

Three pamphlets: *Growth, Development, Service Unlimited: the Story of the United Society of Friends Women*, rev. ed., by M. E. Hinshaw and Ruth R. Hockett, 1981; *Walking with the Trees* by Catherine McCracken; *Looking Back Over the Trail* by Eliza Armstrong Cox. Additions to the Woody family papers.

Hobbs, Grimsley

Additions to manuscript papers and artifacts of the Hobbs-Mendenhall papers; papers and audiotapes of Grimsley T. Hobbs; xerographic copy of manuscript book entitled “Family Origins of the Richard Junius Mendenhall Hobbs Family, with Co-lateral Lines of Descent” prepared by Grimsley Taylor Hobbs, 1978; furniture including a Boston rocker, Beehive mantel clock, candle stand, Mary Mendenhall Hobbs’ desk, cabinet maker’s sample book case, drop leaf table.

Hole, Helen

Fourteen Quaker journals and autobiographies.

Horney, Audrey; Beeson, Ina Fields; Coltrane, Margaret Fields; Fields, Atha

Himelius Hockett’s black felt Quaker hat; Rachel Branson Hockett’s sunbonnet and her Quaker bonnet.

Hughes, Fred

One genealogy entitled *Carry Me Back . . . the Story of the Roddens, Rawdens, Rodens, and Allied Families* by Paul G. Rodden, 1980; Davie County Land Grant Map by Andrew Lagle, 1976; copies of manuscript material on William Martin, Stokes County, N. C. slave trader; additions to papers collected in preparing Davie, Surry and Yadkin Counties *Historic Documentation* maps.

Jeffreys, Sidney

Flourescent bulbs for reading room.

Johnson, Lorand V.

Genealogical material on the Johnson-Johnston family prepared by Lorand V. Johnson; one copy of *Is This Your British Ancestor?*, a collation of the indexes of Besse’s *Book of Sufferings*

of the People Called Quakers prepared by Johnson.

Kennedy, Sol

Five photographs of the 1941-42 Guilford College choir

King, Cyrus B.

Two hundred and thirty two books from the libraries of Rufus P. King and Emma King Allen, including about sixty Quaker titles; photograph album compiled by Rufus P. King

Lindley, B. J.

Guilford College publications; *Some Aspects of the Society of Friends in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* by A. H. Mendenhall.

Lindsay, Jack

Mica window pane from a Randolph County house built ca. 1760.

Ljung, Harvey

Bear Ye the Witness, a book of poems by Dorothy Mumford Williams

Macon, Gertrude

Minutes, Springfield Memorial Association, 1933-1946

Milner, Clyde

Mimeograph copy of talk given by William B. Edgerton, 1-25-1981 at the Bloomington (Indiana) Friends Meeting entitled "American Quakers and Hybrid Corn"

Morgan, Marguerite Osborn

Osborn family papers, sixty-seven items, including letters, newspaper clippings, autograph album, account book; handwoven coverlet made by Anna Macy Osborn; wedding coat and vest of William P. Osborn, ca. 1854.

Mosher Book and Tract Committee of New England Yearly Meeting

One copy of the committee's republication of Margaret Fell's *Womens Speaking Justified* . . . , 1980 (originally published 1666)

Mower, Mary Blair

Nereus Mendenhall's Bible; a collection of photographs of New Jersey and Pennsylvania meeting houses taken by Augustine W. Blair; *Book of Meetings* of the two Philadelphia Yearly

Meetings published by the Philadelphia Young Friends Movement, 1940; and three miscellaneous titles added to the general collection.

Nordemann, Deborah

A collection of promotional materials for Friends World College; three lectures of Elizabeth Watson published in pamphlet form.

North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, Local History Program by Maurice Stirewalt, administrator. *North Carolina Research: Genealogy and Local History*, edited by Helen F. M. Leary and Maurice Stirewalt, 1980.

Page, Joyce

Compilation of material on Joseph Hubbard, father of Jeremiah Hubbard (1775–1848) and his ancestors and descendants, prepared by the donor.

Parker, Elizabeth Graham and Ertel, Margaret Peele Parker

Costumes of Deborah Peele Parker: Silk two-piece dress, black bonnet (not Quaker), baby bonnet, apron, two pairs eyeglasses, silk handkerchief; pamphlet entitled *The Bomb that Fell on America: A Peace Walk Journal from America and Japan* by Chip Poston; additions to the papers of James Peele Parker including letters, poems, newspaper clippings.

Perkins, Eugenia

Papers of North Carolina United Society of Friends Women including minutes, publications, and some correspondence.

Perkins, Theodore

Genealogical materials including copies of the Bible records of Isaac Hammer Cox and Absilla Cox and a photocopy of *Moses Vail of Huntington, Long Island . . .* by William Penn Vail, 1947; Additions to the papers of Greensboro Monthly Meeting including State of Society reports and memorials; photocopy of typed copy of *Essay on Negro Slavery* by James O'Kelly, founder of the Christian Church, 1784; about 125 miscellaneous pamphlets, brochures, newspaper clippings, announcements and programs.

Pugh, Emily Davis and Allred, Mary Alice Davis

A collection of medical artifacts belonging to Dr. John Newlin (1831–1862) of Randolph County, N. C., including a mortar and pestle, beaker, porcelain slab imprinted with a measuring scale; cardcase with tickets to attend lectures at Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia; magnifying glass; two Quaker-style bonnets.

Rohr, Alice Ekeroth

Scrapbook commemorating the Guilford College Class of 1946.

Snipes, Samuel

Report on Snipes' trip to Southern Africa Yearly Meeting, 1979, on behalf of Friends World Committee for Consultation.

Spencer, Paula Underwood

Family history sheets on the Leonard/Swain/Starbuck lines; Asa Folger's family history, ca. 1910.

Stoesen, Alexander

Photocopy of *History of Town of Gibsonville, North Carolina* by Melvin O. Wyrick, February 18, 1971; *An Illustrated History of Yadkin County, 1950–1965*.

Vaughn Foundation, Houston, Texas

Photocopy science-fiction novel *To Be Kept* by John Taine (pseudonym of Eric Temple Bell, 1883–1960).

Vernon, W. M.

Two issues *Vernon Vignettes*, September and December, 1980.

West, Eula

Original watercolor seascape by the donor entitled "Boisterous Waves"; copies of poems by donor.

Westhead, Virginia Smiley

Mohonk: its People and Spirit, 1981, by Larry Burgess.

White, Clara

Thirteen photographs of New Garden Boarding School campus scenes including several copies of 1876 photographs taken by Micajah Henley; some Guilford College scenes taken by Hugh White.

Williams, John Hugh

Indiana Yearly Meeting *Discipline*, 1838.

Women's Society of First Friends Meeting, Greensboro, North Carolina

Contribution of money.

Documents of Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly
Meetings of North Carolina Deposited
in the Friends Historical Collection
1980-1981

Bethel Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1943-1969

Concord Monthly Meeting

Minutes, July, 1957-May, 1980 (unbound)

Sunday School records, 1951 (1 volume)

Papers, including reports to Western Quarterly Meeting, 2
memorials, membership lists and applications for member-
ship

Deep Creek Monthly Meeting

Sunday School Records including minutes (1887-1893, 1945-
1946, 1961-1966)

Attendance records (1894-1941, 1966-1972)

Christian Endeavor Records, 1922-1929

Greensboro Monthly Meeting

Memorials for Anna May McCulloch, Jay Broughton Hodgkin
and Charles Henry Stout

Harmony Grove Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1971-1977 (1 volume)

Holly Spring Monthly Meeting

Minutes, January 1978-June 1980 (1 volume)

New Garden Quarterly Meeting

Papers and duplicate copies of minutes, 1963-1967

Papers only, 1968-1970

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM)

Minutes, Ministry and Oversight, 1934-1979 (1 volume)

Epistles to North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1978-1980

36 memorials

Plainfield Monthly Meeting

Minutes, Ministry and Counsel, 1971-1975, 1975-1980 (2 volumes)

Minutes, Ellen Payne Missionary Society, 1959-1960

Papers: Documents establishing Plainfield Monthly Meeting and list of charter members

Minutes, Preparative Meeting, 1901-1902 (photocopies)

Membership list, Plainfield Preparative Meeting (photocopy)

Rocky River Monthly Meeting

Deed: David Vestal of Chatham County, North Carolina to Trustees of Rocky River Monthly Meeting, 7-25-1792

Somerton Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1946-1962 (1 volume)

Papers, 1844, 1938, 1948-1962 including correspondence, membership records, reports, clippings, photographs, programs, life sketch of Alonzo E. Cloud

Southern Quarterly Meeting (North Carolina Yearly Meeting-Conservative)

Minutes, Women's Meeting, 1910-1913 (photocopies)

Recent Books

Elizabeth Jacoway. *Yankee Missionaries in the South: The Penn School Experiment*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980.

ON ONE OF THE SEA islands of South Carolina, St. Helena, freedom came to black people in November 1861. For liberal Northern educators, the island was a tempting laboratory in which it could be proved that black character was as capable of moral uplift as white. The zeal of many failed, but the Penn School, one of the early experiments, came under the gaze of Dr. Hollis Burke Frissell, principal of Hampton Institute, who saw it as the perfect place to develop the Hampton/Tuskegee philosophy of "industrial" education for the negro.

As the name chosen for the school suggests, there was a strong Philadelphia interest in its creation. Half of the early Northern trustees came from the city on the Delaware, and four of them were Quakers. One was Isaac Sharpless, president of Haverford College. Yet in her book on the Penn School experiment, Elizabeth Jacoway makes only one attempt, based on a general source book on American denominations, to relate Quaker concerns to the work on St. Helena. Her approach is to view the Penn experiment as a particularly striking example of a widespread Northern effort to "elevate" Southern black people to the level of white society in order to render them non-threatening, and to prepare them for the mainstream of American life. In this effort, she believes, "uplift" was far more important than teaching of particular skills of farming or industry. She also regards the effort as a failure because it did not stem the urban flight of young black people from the island, because "white paternalism" prevented the development of indigenous black community leadership, and because the school did not eliminate racism or result in the integration of Southern whites and blacks. She does suggest, however, that Penn school graduates developed a different self-understanding and a greater self-respect than their neighbors.

It would also be interesting to study the "industrial" education of Southern black people by Friends as part of a Quaker reconstruction program for both whites and blacks. The Baltimore Association for the Relief of Distressed Friends, for example, sought many of the same ends

as the Penn School — establishing schools to “elevate” the young, teaching improved agricultural skills, improving economic conditions, strengthening the sense of indigenous community in order to halt emigration, and generally instilling a greater sense of control over the future. The Baltimore Association has been generally regarded as successful in its efforts. Was it more successful than the Penn School because of less paternalism, or because the tides of history favored the “elevation” of whites, or were there other reasons? How, also, did other Quaker reconstruction efforts fare in comparison? For example, the Asheboro Normal School (Randolph County, North Carolina) later moved and renamed the High Point Normal and Industrial School, and still later, the William Penn High School, was begun before 1891 by New York Friends for the education of black teachers. Yardley Warner’s efforts in the late 1860’s to establish schools and encourage black home ownership in Guilford County were sponsored by the Association of Friends of Philadelphia for the Relief of Colored Freedmen. Were these experiments more or less successful than St. Helena’s? Did organized Friends support (as opposed to participation by Friends in projects not officially “Quaker”) make a difference in methods or success? Elizabeth Jacoway’s important study should prompt a search for the answers.

Randolph County Historical Society and the Randolph Arts Guild. *Randolph County, 1779–1979*. Winston-Salem, NC: Hunter Publishing Company, 1980.

THOSE WHO KNOW THE Randolph Room and the Randolph County Historical Society will not be surprised at the labor of love that has produced this beautiful, lavishly illustrated, bicentennial history of one of the North Carolina piedmont’s significant counties. The book is large (304 pages, 9 × 12”), printed on heavy, buff-colored paper. The type is easy to read. Illustrations include a full-color portfolio of landscape photographs, plus black and white maps, sketches, reproductions of old pictures, and contemporary photographs. The text is divided chronologically and then topically within time periods. Illustrations appear on virtually every page, and are well integrated with the text. Interspersed with the narrative are passages quoted from older sources, giving a verbal as well as pictorial feel for the period under discussion. Extensive appendixes include a chronology of the county, a list of churches and their founding dates, a bibliography, and much more. There is both a

subject index and a name index (including names of people, places, and institutions).

Each chronological chapter has a section on churches, and the important contribution of Friends to the development of the county has not been neglected, but is presented also as a part of the larger history and culture. A great deal of research must have been required to make this book much more than the pretty picture book it might have been. It is, therefore, particularly disappointing that no sources are cited in the text, except for direct quotes, probably in order to save printing costs and to avoid cluttering a popular work with a scholarly apparatus. Historians may not know how much they can believe, therefore, or where to look if they want to know more. Still, this is a handsome, fascinating, and well written book that should open to many an experience of their own history and preserve for Randolph County citizens a rich record of their community.

Blackwell P. Robinson and Alexander E. Stoesen. *The History of Guilford County, North Carolina, U.S.A. to 1980, A.D.*

THIS UNUSUAL BOOK, for which no place or date of publication or publisher is listed, differs markedly from its Randolph County counterpart (above). There are no illustrations, including maps, a serious shortcoming in any county history. The book, a project of the Guilford County Bicentennial Commission, is divided into two "volumes," bound together. The first, by Robinson, goes to 1890, with Stoesen's completing the story to 1980. Each has an index of personal names, but not of places or topics. Robinson's "volume" relies heavily on secondary sources. His chapter on the Quaker settlement of Jamestown, for example, depends largely on undocumented statements by Mary Mendenhall Hobbs and others, even when (as with election records) primary materials are available to correct inaccuracies. Instead of setting the historical record straight, therefore, the account spreads errors to a wider audience.

Stoesen's contribution is far better. Chapters are longer, better researched and documented, and better written. They are filled with the sights, sounds, and smells of the past, taken from the words of those who experienced them. Broad conclusions about the county's modern development are avoided, and the reader is left to make judgments about the meaning of it all.

It should be remembered that this history has been augmented in a way that is unique in county histories, by the publication in 1979 of Paula Stahls Jordan's *Women of Guilford County, North Carolina: A Study of Women's Contributions, 1740-1979* (*Southern Friend*, spring 1890). *Women of Guilford* is primarily a history of persons, whereas *History of Guilford County* focuses on institutions. Both suffer from the absence of illustrative matter. The books complement each other, and each is incomplete without the other.

H. McKelden Smith, editor. *Architectural Resources: An Inventory of Historic Architecture: High Point, Jamestown, Gibsonville, Guilford County*. Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1979.

TAKING AN INVENTORY of the architectural resources of a county is a mind-boggling task. Guilford County's was made somewhat easier by dividing it into Greensboro (published in 1976) and everywhere else. Since many of the earliest structures in Greensboro have long since vanished, the "everywhere else" of Guilford County contains most of the buildings of interest to Quaker historians. *Architectural Resources* not only provides an inventory and capsule descriptions of these structures, but it also includes an essay on "Early Brick and Frame Construction in the Quaker Community," identifying those remaining structures that reflect early Quaker building. A glossary of architectural terms, line drawings of construction types, maps showing the location of each structure, and a comprehensive index make this handsome book a very useful tool for studying the development of architectural styles within a Southern Quaker community.

William Penn. *The Papers of William Penn, Volume One: 1644-1679*. Mary Maples Dunn, Richard S. Dunn, editors. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.

ONLY THREE HUNDRED years after the founding of Pennsylvania, the first volume of the edited papers of its founder has at last appeared, and it was worth the wait. The Dunns have carefully edited the writings of the

young Penn. In these documents Penn's religious searchings and his Quaker conviction are unfolded. Despite the destruction of many of his private papers, an amazing 2600 known documents have survived, making Penn (in the editor's words), "One of the best-recorded public figures in seventeenth-century England or America." Since he was many things — a religious leader, a political controversialist and courtier, and a colonial proprietor — it is fortunate that his life is so well documented. He was also an enigma, drawn to the socially and politically suspect Quakers, yet resolutely conventional and even aristocratic in his personal style of living. The roots of these and other inner contradictions are to be found in this volume of papers. A multi-volume collection is projected, and it is hoped that reductions in federal funding will not result in a delay of another three centuries.

Werner and Asa Moore Janney. *Ye Meetg Hous Smal: A Short Account of Friends in Loudoun County, Virginia, 1732-1980*. Lincoln, Virginia: 1980.

THIS DELIGHTFUL LITTLE book could well be taken as a model for all local meeting histories. Except for the fact that it lacks documentation, an index, and a good map, it has everything else: fine pen-and-ink sketches, a sense of historical perspective, balance, humor, a lively prose style, an obvious love of its subject, and a bibliography. Since much of the information is taken from meeting records, the lack of specific documentation is not even the problem it might be. The Goose Creek Meeting was one of the first stops on the southern Quaker migration route through the Valley of Virginia. It became one of the major meetings of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, underwent the Hicksite-Orthodox division, and eventually was reunited. It is, therefore, a transitional meeting, having strong connections in both North and South (and east and west, since it was on the "other" side of the mountains from the earliest coastal settlements). As the Janney brothers tell us, history never "hinged on Goose Creek, but on occasion Goose Creek has helped the hinges to turn with less complaining."

Robert H. Wilson. *Philadelphia Quakers, 1681-1981: A Tercentenary Family Album*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1981.

TO CELEBRATE ITS tercentenary, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting has commissioned two volumes: a popular, illustrated history, and a scholarly, written history. The pictorial work has appeared first, and is a handsome book, available in both paper binding and boards. Text and photographs are very well integrated, and the modern text is interspersed with quotations from older sources. All parts of the yearly meeting are treated, as are all three centuries. There is a welcome, although brief, series on Friends and the decorative arts.

This history also suffers the common failing of pictorial works: lack of documentation. Since it is doubtful that the written history volume will repeat and document the contents of the pictorial, the statements in the latter must either be taken on faith or be reconfirmed by future historians. It is also somewhat disturbing for Southern Friends that hardly any acknowledgment can be found of the existence of Quakers south of Baltimore, even in the book's sections on slavery. Finally, the book suffers from lack of an index. In all, this work will probably do an admirable job of reaching its stated audience: "Anyone who knows a little and wants to know more about Philadelphia Quakers."

The Authors

ELBERT RUSSELL, 1871–1951, is remembered for his many contributions to the Society of Friends as a teacher, writer, and minister. Holding doctorates in Old and New Testament, he taught at both Earlham and Guilford Colleges and served as Dean of Duke Divinity School for thirteen years. His *History of Quakerism*, published in 1942, is still one of the best single-volume histories available.

JAMES HOWARD HINSHAW is a graduate of Guilford College and a member of West Grove Friends Meeting of North Carolina Yearly Meeting-Conservative. A resident of Snow Camp, North Carolina, he has been active in the historic preservation activities associated with the Sword of Peace outdoor drama held near Snow Camp each summer. He has taught social studies in Alamance County schools and is currently employed by the Charlotte Liberty Mutual Insurance Company of Siler City.

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